

ALOIS RIEGL

# LATE ROMAN ART INDUSTRY

Translated from the original Viennese edition  
with foreword and annotations

by ROLF WINKES

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*To Mary, Adeline, and Korinna  
remembering our time in Rome*









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## PREFACE

Even in the German text, Riegl does not make for easy reading. He was a profound thinker, whose train of thought was precise but frequently expressed in a complicated manner. This translation attempts to be a correct translation of Riegl's thought rather than a paraphrase of his ideas. Therefore, certain terms such as *Kunstwollen*, *Fernsicht*, *Nahsicht* are left in German. They are explained in the glossary. Other terms are translated with strict consistency, even though a particular context might tempt the translator to deviate from such a principle. These are: *Anschauung* = idea, *Auffassung* = perception (sometimes = opinion), *Betrachtung* = observation, *Vorstellung* = notion, *Wahrnehmung* = perception. Consistency was generally the aim, though Riegl's often complicated syntax required at times a more liberal approach. The same is true for the desired closeness to the German text, even though many German adjectives, which repeat earlier ideas, were for the sake of legible English frequently skipped. The translator found in the Archives of Vienna University documents in Riegl's personnel file which are used for his *Foreword*; thanks to the generosity of the Kunsthistorische Institut he also was able to receive Xeroxes of Riegl's lectures in the University of Vienna, which he was able to inspect there. The manuscript of the book could not be found, but the lectures deal with the same subject and were obviously given just before Riegl wrote the actual manuscript. They demonstrate the degree to which his terminology was still in a state of flux at that point. This material is reflected in the *Foreword* and in the *Annotations* to the translation. A great number of the original illustrations could be replaced thanks to the comprehensive holdings of the Photoabteilung of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. The translator tried to find exactly the same monuments photographed from the same angle as in Riegl's original edition. When such a goal could not be reached, the illustrations were taken directly from the *Kunstindustrie*. As one knows, many of Riegl's ideas are outdated by more than a generation. No attempt was made to update those with the help of annotations. The bibliography will help to familiarize the reader with these problems, which have stimulated art historical discussions for eighty years.



## FOREWORD \*

by  
ROLF WINKES

In 1929 G. Kaschnitz von Weinberg stated<sup>1</sup> that a new edition of the *Late Roman Art Industry* thirty years after Riegl's death would show the extraordinary importance of the work. It would be a work which was influential far beyond the author's own generation. The interest in a first English translation more than eighty years after the first edition seems to confirm Kaschnitz' judgment. Riegl constituted a turning-point in the history of art and archaeology with an almost revolutionary impact. He wrote at a time when the problems of the gradually developing field « art history » became in the words of H. Zerner « most acute »<sup>2</sup>. Nineteenth century scholarship in the field reacting to developments in the sciences searched for objectivity by using means and theories which emulated scientific research. Riegl took a position strongly opposed to such trends, even though from our modern point of view some of his own ideas were methodologically speaking based on the same ground as the views he was opposed to. Yet the subjective artistic forces of a work of art were recognized with a clarity unparalleled at the time by his colleagues. The difficulties which he encountered in an attempt to define the inner forces of creation, he tried to overcome through the establishment of a new terminology, which would permit him to take such forces into account while maintaining historical objectivity. His work is encompassing: even though the book's title mentions only the crafts of late antiquity, it is in fact a book on Roman art generally setting it in its place within the world history of art. Our contemporary trend toward specialization makes us look with admiration at such literary works, because our age seems beyond such a task. Even though Riegl is outdated in many ways, he still fulfills our need for a basic and comprehensive view. He also fascinates us as a scholar who reacts to the Industrial Age and to the particular problems that

\* I have benefited writing this introduction especially from the research by O. Pächt, H. Quietzsch, G. Wacha, T. Zaunschirm and H. Zerner, quoted below.

1) *Gnomon*, 1929, 195 f.

2) H. Zerner, « A. Riegl: Art, Value, and Historicism », *Daedalus* (Winter 1976), 177.

evolved during this age for the artistic mind, the kind of problems, which have not yet entirely ceased to exist. Also, during the last two decades Europeans and Americans have developed as partial reaction to our technological environment a keen interest in the crafts of past civilizations, as many recent exhibitions in various museums all over the world have shown<sup>3</sup>. The general and increasing loss of good craftsmanship makes us look with fresh eyes to those periods when craftsmanship was held in high esteem. Within that context, the scholar, who in the history of art placed such emphasis on the study of crafts, a previously much neglected area in contrast to the fine arts, gains renewed recognition. There are thus many reasons which make the study of Riegl valuable: it is a most interesting testimony of late nineteenth century ideas, a basic turning point for humanistic disciplines with emphasis on structuralism, an approach that developed after Riegl, and it is one of the first re-evaluations of the art of late antiquity and the migration period, which until Riegl, were called Dark Ages and entirely neglected, and finally a book in praise of the crafts. For the beginner as well as the mature scholar, it is still a work which, like very few others, can teach us to look for a long time with appreciation at a detail; this means to come as close as possible to the process of recreation, an idea not only characteristic of nineteenth century Romanticism.

### *Vita.*

Alois Michael Riegl was born on January 14, 1858 in Linz (Austria).<sup>4</sup> His mother, the former Katharina Mayr, was the daughter of a civil

3) *Römer in Rumänien*, Exhibition catalogue, Römisch-Germanisches Museum (Febr. 12-May 18, 1969).

*Römer am Rhein*, Exhibition catalogue, Römisch-Germanisches Museum (April 15-June 30, 1967).

*From the Lands of the Scythians*, Exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

*Romans and Barbarians*, Exhibition catalogue, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, Dec. 17, 1976-Feb. 27, 1977).

*Die Numidier* ed. by H. G. Horn and Ch. B. Rüger (Bonn, 1980).

*Gallien in der Spätantike*, Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseum (Mainz, 1980).

*Gold der Thraker* Exhibition Cologne, Munich, Hildesheim 1979-1980 (Mainz, 1980).

*Gold Jewelry* ed. by T. Hackens and R. Winkes, exhibition Providence 1983 (Aurifex vol. 5).

4) Bibliography on Riegl's biography in G. Wacha, « Alois Riegl und Linz », in *Oberösterreich*, 25 (1975) 47-50).

Also, R. Bianchi-Bandinelli s.v. « Riegl », in EAA, VI, 686.



servant from Linz, his father Johann Riegl was born on May 15, 1823 in Bohemia. He had studied mathematics and geometry in Prague (1840) and continued his university education in Vienna taking courses in physics and engineering. Johann Riegl was able to converse in German, Slavic and French. After his university studies he entered the civil service and became assistant manager and finally director of a state-owned tobacco factory before he was transferred to the Ministry of Finance. His service in Linz began in 1851 or 1852. Linz was at that time the major industrial city in Austria; in 1850 a large tobacco factory was opened and run by the State. Here in Linz Johann Riegl married on October 10, 1852, Katharina Mayr. Eventually Johann Riegl was transferred to Galizia and seems for a while to have envisioned a private enterprise. There are no documents preserved which would give us an insight into the youth and the private adult life of Alois Riegl. He carefully separated private life and university career, and so did his widow in giving certain manuscripts to the University of Vienna. The little we know came indirectly down to us through Dvorak and is based on stories which Riegl must have told Dvorak. It looks as if his youth was not very pleasant. His father did not permit him to have toys and made him study instead. He was able to read and write fully at age four. This rather strict upbringing probably contributed a lot to the dry seriousness with which he was to pursue his interests as an adult. His father died in Galizia at the early age of fifty leaving his widow with two sons Alois and Alexander. Katherina Riegl was now faced with the harsh reality of a small pension, which must have altered her previously rather comfortable life style. She had now just 470 fl. available versus the previous 1551 fl. She immediately decided to move to her hometown of Linz.

Here in Upper Austria Alois continued his secondary education at the Stifftsgymnasium in Kremsmünster, from which he graduated at age sixteen. He then entered Vienna University and was forced by his legal guardian to study law. However, he soon followed his own interests and transferred to the humanities. He was especially impressed by the historian Theodor v. Sickel. In 1881 he was accepted as a member by the Austrian Institute for Historical Research, passed the exams for his diploma in July 17, 1883 and was awarded on December 7, 1883 the Doctor of Philosophy degree. The thesis for the diploma was entitled « The Romanesque Buildings of Salzburg to the end of the High Romanesque Period and the Development of the Romanesque Style in Bavaria » and the title of his doctoral dissertation was « On the Scotch Church of St. James in Regensburg ». Already during his formal history studies he had taken courses in the history of art with Moritz Thausing. It is also helpful to be aware that the Institute for Historical Research was at the time, more than any

other European department of history, methodologically speaking, involved with contemporary science.

Riegl received then a six months fellowship for Rome to pursue his art historical interests in greater depth. He returned to Vienna in 1884 to become an apprentice at the Vienna Museum for arts and crafts, *Kunst und Gewerbe*, which was at this time called Museum for Art and Industry. In 1885 he advanced to a job which we would now identify as assistant curatorship and in 1886 he was promoted to Adjunct Curator in charge of the textile collection. Another fellowship enabled him to return for a period of three months to Rome. This may have been in connection with the textile exhibit, which was mounted in Rome at the time and about which he wrote in the *Mittheilungen* of the Austrian Museum Vol. II.20. His ambitions went beyond the position as Adjunct Curator. In 1889 he applied for the *Habilitation* in Vienna University in order to become a *Privatdozent*. To obtain this degree, which would enable him to lecture in the university and to be eligible for a professorship, he had to submit a *Habilitationsschrift*, present a number of publications beyond his doctorate, pass a scholarly colloquium, deliver a public lecture and be willing to offer on a regular basis lectures and seminars in the university. Riegl's application for the *Habilitation*, the documents of which are preserved in his personnel file in the University Archives, allows a good insight into the procedure and his plans. Some of them are published here as appendices A-C.

With his application (Appendix A) he submitted among other items a list of publications which quotes eight articles in the bulletin of his museum, ten book reviews in the same periodical, five book reviews in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, where he had studied, one review in the *Gymnasialzeitschrift* and another in the *Kunstchronik*. These do not include the thesis for his diploma, the doctoral dissertation and five treatises mentioned in his application for the *Habilitation*. A remarkable list, which is evaluated by F. Wickhoff who is one of the candidates official references. A list of lectures (Appendix B) shows his future plans.

In 1895 Riegl received a tenured position in Vienna University as extraordinary professor. The chair for the history of art was at that time held by F. Wickhoff. This meant that the Italian Renaissance and Baroque periods were Wickhoff's undeclared domain and that Riegl was not able to lecture in this field. In 1897 Riegl was invested as Professor Ordinarius, which gave him finally the desired independence in financial and academic terms. A year later he started teaching Italian Renaissance and Baroque subject matters, which is also reflected in his research activities following

the year 1897<sup>5</sup> (Appendix C). During the winter of the Academic Year 1897/98 Riegl was not lecturing but he may have conducted seminars. During that year he was working on two major research projects: he was preparing his manuscript for the Historical Grammar in the visual arts (*Historische Grammatik der Bildenden Künste*), which was published posthumously by O. Pächt and K. Swoboda in 1966<sup>6</sup>. He also must have worked on the «history of the transition from ancient to modern art», which became the subject of his five hour per week lecture during the subsequent semester; during semester II, 1888/89 he lectured for two hours per week on «the history of the art of the migration period». This was obviously done in connection with his second major project: a book on the arts and crafts of the so-called Dark Ages. In 1893 the Association of Philologists and School-teachers at a meeting in Vienna had asked the Director of the Vienna Museum of Art and Industry to arrange an exhibit of work of crafts in order to demonstrate to classical scholars the holdings of antiquity in Austria. Dr. C. Masner, Curator of the Museum, was entrusted with the task which meant also the establishment of a large photo collection. It was financially supported by the Ministry of Education and was going to be published under the auspices of the Austrian Archaeological Institute. Dr. Masner soon became Director of the Silesian Museum for Art and Antiquities and the project was given to A. Riegl.

A. Riegl had already lectured in the winter semester of 1890/91 on the history of the ornament which was connected with his later book, *Stilfragen* (1893), a declared attack on Semper's *Der Stil* and all other art historical approaches influenced by Darwin. A more general and matured view was presented in the *Spätrömische Kunst-Industrie* (1901), the manuscript of which was probably finished some time during the year 1900. The second part of the project was published posthumously by E. H. Zimmermann<sup>7</sup>, who used Riegl's lecture manuscripts as the basis for the publication. The actual manuscript for the first part of the *Art-Industry* is lost, but the respective lecture manuscripts (as well as the ones used by Zimmermann for the second part) are preserved and were given by Riegl's widow to the Kunsthistorische Institute in Vienna. Their text comes very close to the text of the book. A list of Riegl's lecture activities is presented in Appendix D<sup>8</sup>.

5) The more modern periods constituted at that time Renaissance and Baroque.

6) See K. Swoboda and O. Pächt (ed.) in «Einleitung», p. 9 f. to: Riegl, *Historische Grammatik der Bildenden Künste* (Darmstadt, 1966).

7) *Kunstgewerbe des frühen Mittelalters* (1923).

8) It is based on the list in the *Historische Grammatik der Bildenden Künste*, p. 17/18, where K. Swoboda and O. Pächt present it according to subject matter.

As the above demonstrates, the years 1897/98 to 1900 are very significant years in Riegl's intellectual development. As far as earlier publications go, his concepts and terminology are reflected upon and partly corrected. By comparing the margins of his lecture manuscripts with the final publication we can see how his terminology developed and how his concept of the history of art gradually achieved an almost visionary character. As soon as the first part of his project on the crafts was published (which embraced antiquity until the fifth/sixth centuries) he concentrated in his lectures on early christian art and the art of the migration period, which was part of the project eventually to be published by Zimmermann. But those were also the years when he turned with increasing interest to the traditional domain of a Professor Ordinarius: the art of the Renaissance and the Baroque. His best known scholarly contribution to these fields was the famous article on the Dutch group portrait of 1902. His administrative duties increased: he became President of the Austrian Preservation Society and had in that position great plans for a modernization of all museums and for preservation generally and he wrote drafts for a legislation which never materialized. His concepts were extremely innovative and would have, had he lived longer and been able to succeed with his plans, influenced the museum world significantly. He also planned in those years to write a universal history of art. One cannot imagine the changes which could have occurred if he were to have finished just a few of the projects. He was, after all, a firm believer that no period in the history of art was to be preferred over another and that the best art historian would be the one who had no preference in taste. Yet from 1901 on he became ill. The documents which came down to us do not specify his illness. He seemed to have become increasingly deaf which complicated his relationship with his students and to have suffered great pain for several years. On June 17, 1905, A. Riegl died, forty-seven years old. We know very little about his private life; he had no children and there are no references to his wife and marriage. We also do not know if he had any hobbies. All we know is related to his profession. He was said to be a good lecturer who spoke with a soft voice and was able to capture the attention of his audience through his deep concern about the importance of the subject matter and the compassion for his work.

*Semper, Riegl and Nineteenth Century Art Theory.*

Even though Gottfried Semper is routinely mentioned in connection with Riegl, the strong determination with which Riegl attacked Semper is often not sufficiently stressed. Semper is in the English speaking world

outside architectural circles, not as well known as Riegl. Like Riegl's *Kunst-Industrie*, his major work, *Der Stil*, has not been translated. Also, Semper constituted not just an abstract idea for Riegl, who was living in the environment of major architectural monuments designed by Semper. It is not possible to understand Riegl's *Stilfragen* and *Spätromische Kunst-Industrie* without at least a basic understanding of Semper's theories.

Semper, as a revolutionary, was especially analyzed by H. Quietzsch<sup>9</sup>. In art theory, Semper's colorful classicism may be called the last phase of that period. Born November 29, 1803 in Hamburg, where he received his secondary education, he studied in Göttingen, Munich and Regensburg, especially with the architect Bühlau. A duel forced him to escape to Paris where he sympathized with the 1830 July revolution<sup>10</sup>. A subsequent trip to Greece resulted in a provoking treatise, «Preliminary remarks concerning polychrome architecture and sculpture among the Ancients», 1843<sup>11</sup>. According to Semper, ancient architecture and sculpture was almost entirely painted. With his theory, which included not just Greek temples but also monuments such as the column of Trajan, he went far beyond the polychrome theories of his contemporary classicists and found much opposition especially in Kugler. In yet another aspect he differed from the traditional classicist: even though he admired the ancients, he did not favor a theory of imitation. For him art was to fulfill the needs of his own time. His early recognition promoted a quick career. In 1834 he moved to Dresden and became the President of the Academy, even though he disliked the climate of Dresden, the high tower of German romanticism at the time. Projects such as the Zwinger forum were just partly finished, yet his impact on Dresden's architecture was considerable. Here he joined the revolutionary circle around Richard Wagner to the end that he climbed the barricades during the 1848 May revolution. As a most wanted man he escaped to Strasbourg and moved a year later to England in order to work for the forthcoming world exhibit. The revolutionary circles in England which he joined, were accused of bourgeoisie by Engels and Marx<sup>12</sup>. It seems to have been more a circle of Republican exiles rather than minds who plan additional revolutionary acts. His professional career brought him in 1855 to the Technical Institute in Zurich and, in 1871, to Vienna where the Burgtheater, the Museum for Na-

9) H. Quietzsch, *Die ästhetischen Anschauungen G. Sempers* (Berlin, 1962). Ample documentation on Semper is also provided by M. Fröhlich, *G. Semper, Zeichnerischer Nachlass an der ETH Zürich* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1974).

10) Beside Quietzsch especially for those years W. Herrmann, *Gottfried Semper in Exil* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1978).

11) *Vorläufige Bemerkungen über bemalte Architektur und Plastik bei den Alten*.

12) See Quietzsch, p. 12.

tural History and the History of Art are still monumental examples of his impact on the city of Vienna. His materialistic views are expressed through his major two-volume book *Der Stil* (1861-63), a project which took years for publication. For the technical arts style is based on shape, purpose and material. The original shapes are made in consideration of the purpose and the material from which they are created. These first shapes or types are maintained all through the history of their development. They might develop in a different manner pending climatic, political, or other conditions of environment as well as personal ideas. This he compared with the development of certain animalistic types, an idea he copied not so much from Goethe rather than from Cuvier and his systematic collection of animalistic types in the Jardin des Plantes in Paris.<sup>13</sup> Art is hence directed in accordance with the laws of nature. One can see this already in the invention of the basic types such as the pumpkins and melons which are the basis for the shape of prehistoric pots. Therefore, one should, for the definition of style, look primarily to the crafts, the art industry, where development is best visible. Art develops based on the craft and the technique and not so much stimulated through independent human ideas. Of course, the original purpose may no longer be recognized in a developed shape such as a mosaic, which derives from a rug, or the altar, which originates in the hearth and is in its developed form the symbol of a moral element, a social togetherness. Shapes will never ignore the material even though the technique can become so sophisticated that the underlying material seems to be forgotten. Most important is color, because it covers the material. Yet this is only correctly done if done in harmony with shape and material emphasizing either. Superfluous elements are not considered to be beautiful. Semper tried to apply these theories in his architectural projects; for example, breaking with the tradition of earlier opera designs, the Dresden Opera's exterior echoes the oval shape of the auditorium. Even though he expressed great dislike about contemporary architecture and art, he did not fall into resignation. Like Morris and Ruskin he had specific ideas for improvements. Since the crafts play such an important role for him, he felt that people should generally be better instructed in order to respond appropriately to the Industrial Age. Public museums should be built and exhibitions mounted and there should be public lectures on art. In school a general education should be succeeded by a special artistic education.

As soon as Riegl started to teach on a university level, he became involved with the theoretical foundations of art history. His first major publication *Stilfragen* was a combination of his research done as a curator in the Museum for Arts and Crafts and this new theoretical involvement.

13) See Quietsch, p. 41.

He attacked Semper who was the greatest authority of his time for the crafts. In a way he was returning to Romantic art theory. As Kaschnitz already stated, he may have been looking back to Schnaase,<sup>14</sup> who had considered art a truly free creation of man and all the elements which helped him to produce art. He considered a closer determination through the human mind. This mind was already active «when man is carving a tool or leisurely drawing in the sand of a beach». Man's subjective interpretation is dependent on the individual will and the preception of the beholder. Yet in opposition to Romantic aesthetic theory, Riegl wished to establish with his new term *Kunstwollen* also objectivity.<sup>15</sup> This term was subsequently much discussed by such scholars as Panofsky, Sedlmayr<sup>16</sup>, Pächt<sup>17</sup>, Zaunschirm<sup>18</sup>, and many more. It is the exponent of Riegl's new theory which has certain roots in the philosophy of Schelling and Herbart, Kant and is especially influenced through Hegel's theories. Like Hegel's *Zeitgeist* and *Weltanschauung* which is inherent in many a human endeavor, so *Kunstwollen* expresses itself in all forms of artistic production and has equivalent expressions in music or literature. It is the creative force which underlies all artistic works for a particular period and civilization. Riegl defines the different kinds of *Kunstwollen* such as the one for classical art, Roman Imperial or early christian art. Art develops with the change of the *Kunstwollen*. Periods of decline no longer exist for him as they had in art historical theory before this time. The idea of constant evolution is not just familiar to us from nineteenth century science, even though Riegl opposed a materialistic viewpoint as represented by Darwin and Semper,<sup>19</sup> but it was also nurtured among artists during those decades. Besides the philosophical basis one should not neglect to stress the psychological impact of the term and the fact that Sigmund Freud was a contemporary of Riegl teaching in Vienna. A deliberate use of *Kunstwollen* did not take place until the publication of the *Spätrömische Kunst-Industrie* in 1901<sup>20</sup>. *Wollen* is here deliberately replacing earlier terms such as *Kunstdrang*; it is also much stronger a term than *Kunstwillen*, as used

14) *Gnomon* (1929), p. 198.

15) «Der Begriff des Kunstwollens», in: *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und Kunstwissenschaft*, 14 (1919/20), pp. 321 ff.

16) *Die Quintessenz der Lehren Riegls (Kunst und Wahrheit)* Hamburg, no year.

17) «Art Historians and Art Critics, VI: Alois Riegl», *Burlington Magazine*, 105 (1963), pp. 188 ff.

18) *Systeme der Kunstgeschichte*, diss. Salzburg, 1973.

19) See *Stilfragen*, p. VI, p. 12.

20) As already Zaunschirm observed, Riegl occasionally uses in the *Stilfragen* (as on p. 20) *Kunstwollen*, but here it is not used as key-term, which is not done until the *Kunst-Industrie*.

in 1901 as « artistic intention », because he differentiated in the *Kunst-Industrie* clearly between the equivalent of intention, *Kunstabsicht*<sup>21</sup>, and *Kunstwollen*; the former is much weaker. *Wollen* expresses deeply rooted forces and is even stronger than artistic will, the equivalent of which is *Kunstwillen*. In the *Kunst-Industrie* he states that it is *conscious* and *conscious* of its purpose, but also more or less conscious depending on the civilization<sup>22</sup>. In the manuscript to his lecture on the subject which dates to the year 1898, one finds at a place where in the book of 1901 *Kunstwollen* appears, the term *Kunstwillen* (Fig. B)<sup>23</sup>. He writes here in the margins: « This does not depend on technique because technique depends always on *Kunstwillen*, technique does not create style, but style, *Kunstabsicht*, creates technique ». More than any other place it is shown here that *Kunstwollen* is a term meant to replace style because the latter much used term did not serve all of Riegl's purposes<sup>24</sup>. Hence, in 1898 a rather transitional and fluctuating state is revealed for the development of his terminology, which would emerge in a finished form in 1901 with the publication of his epoch-making book. Riegl recognizes in this book the kind of *Kunstwollen* which evolves from an earlier tactile (*haptisch*) perception of a work of art by the beholder to a later optical (*optisch*) perception. The illusionistic effects of light and shadowy elements, so remarkable in Late Roman and early christian art, are typical for their respective periods, while Egyptian art is meant to be perceived primarily through our sense of touch. Even though the pair *haptisch-optisch* might appear on the first sight very illuminating, it is on the other side representative of the limitations of Riegl's approach because it is too exclusive a pair to incorporate all the aspects which make the physical appearance of a work of art possible. Parallel with the development from a tactile to an optical perception goes a development in the position of the beholder. For a tactile perception the beholder needs to be close to the object, that is in *Nahsicht*, while for an optical perception the view from a distance, the *Fernsicht*, is best suited. A compromise is reached in the *Normalsicht*<sup>25</sup>.

Besides Riegl's obvious intent to demonstrate that positivistic theories such as Semper's would be wrong, there appears to be another goal reached

21) *Kunstabsicht* is used, for example, on p. 104 and 393.

22) With this he wishes to oppose Semper's theory, compare *Kunst-Industrie* p. 392.

23) Ms. p. 22. He is looking at Fayum portraits, or works by Praxiteles and Attic vases, which to the beholder seem to have a closer relation than the one with portraits of the 17th century.

24) See M. Schapiro, « Style », in *Anthropology Today*, ed. by A. L. Kroeber, (Chicago, 1953).

25) *Kunst-Industrie*, p. 32 ff.



which is not so much explicitly written in his works but can be assumed by looking at the development of the art historical field in the University of Vienna from the middle of the 19th century on<sup>26</sup>. Art history was slowly moving away from its role as a secondary discipline within the humanities or the philosophical faculty as it is defined in European universities. Riegl's concept that art is to be interpreted internally made it a truly independent discipline. It became the kind of discipline which could serve as immediate source for a particular *Weltanschauung*, a term which he himself used in his writings. This Hegelian view is very obvious in his « *Art Historical Grammar (Historische Grammtik)* of 1897/98 » posthumously published by K. Swoboda and O. Pächt<sup>27</sup>. There we find an East Roman *Weltanschauung* or a West Roman *Weltanschauung* with its relation to art and a *Weltanschauung* among the sciences<sup>28</sup>. T. Zaunschirm especially has shown how much Riegl's terminology remains in a state of fluctuation<sup>29</sup>. Riegl refined his system constantly even to the point of reaching at a later time rather contrasting views from the ones expressed earlier.

We can observe this especially during the years which precede the publication of the *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* in 1901. These are also the years when he worked on the manuscript for the *Kunsthistorische Grammatik*. It is interesting to look at his idea about popular art, that is *Volkskunst*, a kind of art contrasted to the *fine arts* and given as much attention as it was previously done by Semper. In 1894, a year after the *Stilfragen* was published, he wrote about *Volkskunst* with a subtitle « Diligence at home and home industry ». He urged the Ministry of Education to save examples of contemporary popular art, a kind of art which R. Bianchi-Bandinelli was to call later *arte plebea*<sup>30</sup>. In this treatise he expressed hope that students would learn about the economic context under which popular art developed and he saw them declining whenever a change in the economic structure took place. The fine arts are explained to have originated during periods of political-economic clashes. As Zaunschirm rightly states, it is one of the earliest sociological treatises in the history of art<sup>31</sup>. He found two characteristics for popular art. 1. The individual shapes, which must be recognized, understood and practised by everybody within a particular

26) For the early years see T. von Borodajkewycz, « Aus der Frühzeit der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte », in: *Festschrift H. Sedlmayr* (München, 1967), pp. 321 ff.

27) See footnote 6.

28) *Historische Grammatik*, 219 ff.

29) *Systeme der Kunstgeschichte*, pp. 25-26.

30) *Arte plebea*, see his book on Roman art: *Rome, Center of Power* and the review by R. Brilliant, *Art Bulletin*, 55 (1973) 285 ff.

31) A.O. 26 Zaunschirm, 26.

cultural context. 2. Tradition, which constitutes the correct and necessary environment for all popular art. The origin of such art is basically spatial and timeless. That popular art does not change its character over many thousand years serves as an explanation that the cause for change is to be recognized as a destructive element. It produces alterations in economics, politics and the social environment and builds the ground for the fine arts. These changes, which bring the fine arts about, constitute essentially the loss of a Golden Age. For Riegl popular art is thus part of a higher stable order within religion and nationality. It is part of a moral foundation. Thus space preserves art, while time is to be considered a destructive element. Fine arts precede rather than follow popular arts. In the *Stilfragen* Riegl had established the thesis that art progressed from the three-dimensional to the two-dimensional representation. Man being able to form an animal in clay would no longer just imitate nature. This becomes an argument for his statement that the ornament was a higher art form. Riegl's concept in these years is an argument for space, which permits harmony. Harmony is a condition which every human being is looking for in a pursuit of happiness, while Nature constantly, produces a struggle. Hence, man creates in art a concept of Nature, which liberates him from constant disruptions and produces an image of Nature which makes her look better than she is. Artistic creation is competition with Nature in order to find a harmonic Weltanschauung.

The *Kunsthistorische Grammatik* was not published during Riegl's life, his next major publication was the *Kunst-Industrie*. There were attempts to translate the title by late Roman arts and crafts. However, this does not ascertain a true understanding. In Europe as well as in England there existed at the time a number of Art and Industry museums and the term art industry was a rather familiar term. As Semper's work already showed, the association with industrial production was intended. In contrast to his earlier publication, Riegl writes now about the fine arts versus the popular arts. « It is about time to concede that also the popular arts were long ago the fashionable arts which were then left behind as conservative thoughts »<sup>32</sup>. He also now calls the Egyptians, Greeks and the masters of the Constantinian portraits « naturalists », even though he had earlier accused naturalistic art of copying. Now he states: Any style in art strives toward a true imitation of nature and nothing else, yet, everyone has his own concept of nature perceiving it as a specific form either from a tactile point, a normal distance or from far, that is an optical manner. Momentary effects, earlier done away with as transitional elements are now appreciated as exciting and lively phenomena. These

32) *Kunst-Industrie*, 324, Zaunschirm, 43 ff.

differences were explained by Zaunschirm with two alterations in his concept<sup>33</sup>. First, in the *Kunst-Industrie*, time is no longer part of a composite pair «space-time»; secondly he selects different periods than he had before for his extreme points. Earlier Hellenistic art was considered the extreme to Egyptian art, now it is late Roman art. Late Roman art as the concluding phase of ancient art is, furthermore, recognized as the beginning phase for Medieval art. «Development» becomes a descriptive rather than an evaluative term and is rarely brought in with relation to space. «Time» is very seldom mentioned. Yet the few remarks concerning «time» and «space» are quite relevant: he states that antiquity arbitrarily chose its representational scenes from infinite time and space and made them appear in a manner that different spaces are located next to one another much as incoherent moments in time are. However, during the early Roman Empire there existed coherent cycles, that is a continuity in time and space did exist in that specific form. Hence, he is able to separate space and time and analyze them in their relation to particular periods and from the viewpoint of development. While terms such as motion, emotion and immobility were important in his earlier works, they are now mere words and no longer part of his strict terminology. Now *Kunstwollen* is introduced opposing Semper's mechanistic series. The usefulness, limitations and the impact of the term have been well discussed by E. Panofsky<sup>34</sup>, M. Shapiro<sup>35</sup> and others. Its great advantage was that it helped to overcome the previous obstacle of a problem between time and space.

Riegl changes his ideas even after his *Kunst-Industrie*. In 1902 his article appeared on the Dutch group portrait<sup>36</sup>, the kind of subject matter he researched since he became a full professor. His love for antiquity may have led to a system with a northern and southern role. The North claims to be older until the time of the Dutch group portrait when one can see that the North has become actually a representative of the South. The North was described in his representation to be more physical, tactile-linear, while the South was more spiritual and optical coloristic. A balance between the two is reached in the figure of Rembrandt. Objective and subjective perception would coincide with an increase of genre-like motives. In this context he mentions motives, which make the beholder feel that he will enter the picture itself such as backviews of human figures. The greater the number of assumed beholders, the more the painting is

33) a.a. 26.

34) See footnote 15.

35) See footnote 24.

36) See translation by St. Kayser in E. Kleingebauer, *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History* (New York, 1971).

objective, while greatest subjectivity exists in cases where the beholder has to reconstruct action in his imagination. The ultimate goal is a work in which external and internal unity exists. In such cases a recognizable thematic content is created for the beholder. Riegl sees in the Dutch group portrait the beholder and the work of art moving toward an ideal situation where they become part of the same time. Until this is reached, a work of art is not finished. He does not recognize a time distance between the work of art and the beholder. An evaluation is thus based on a comparison of the *Kunstwollen* of the beholder's time with that of an earlier period; it is, therefore, based on individual taste. An interpretation is possible, because there is always something in the present *Wollen* which corresponds with the earlier one. Hence real objective criteria cease to exist and the work of art becomes a timeless element, which is subjective and present while its historical part is to be recognized as a context. Riegl thus splits the entity of a work of art, the truly artistic values of which are subject to the eyes of the beholder while the historical elements can be subjects of scholarly research. Standing by itself it cannot be evaluated objectively, it can be explained in its historical context and is in this respect part of the historical development. Thus it appears that Riegl's roots go back to problems raised in eighteenth century aesthetic theory with representatives such as J. J. Winckelmann<sup>37</sup>, and that he deals in a most ingenious manner with the ideas of the nineteenth century to become a true founder of modern art history.

37) On Winckelmann's idea concerning the relation between the beholder and the work of art see:

H. Zeller, « Winckelmann's Beschreibung des Apollo im Belvedere », *Zürcher Beiträge zur Deutschen Literatur-und Geistesgeschichte* No. 8 Zürich, 1955.

Also, the excellent contribution by N. Himmelmann, « Winckelmann's Hermeneutik », *Akademie der Wissenschaften Mainz, Geistes und Sozialwiss. Kl.*, 1971, 591 ff. The same author gives an analysis of the present status of research concerning the term development in which he goes back to theories of Riegl and others: *Der Entwicklungsbegriff der modernen Archäologie, Marburger Winckelmann's Programm* (1960) 13 ff.

## APPENDIX A

### RIEGL'S APPLICATION FOR THE *HABILITATION*

And das hohe Professoren Collegium der philosophischen Fakultät an der Universität Wien

Dr. Alois Riegl

Custos-Adjunct am k.k. österr. Museum f. Kunst u. Industrie bittet um Zulassung zur Habilitation als Privatdozent der Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit.

Mit sechs Beilagen.

Hohes Professoren Collegium!

Der ergebenst Gefertigte bittet um Zulassung zur Habilitation als Privatdozent für Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Derselbe hat sich laut Diplom (A) am 7. Dec. 1883 den Doktorgrad an der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien erworben, und erlaubt sich als Habilitationschrift (B) seine Abhandlung über « die mittelalterliche Kalenderillustration » vorzulegen, die sich über Fragen frühmittelalterlicher Kunst bis zum 11. Jahrhundert verbreitet. Zum Belege seiner Vertrautheit mit der Behandlung spätmittelalterlicher Kunstgeschichte findet sich seine Abhandlung (C) « über ein angiovinisches Gebetbuch der Wiener Hofbibliothek » angeschlossen, während eine dritte Schrift (D) « über die Holzkalender des Mittelalters und der Renaissance » sich mit Hervorbringungen der Kunst des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts beschäftigt.

Das beigeschlossene Zeugnis der Prüfungs-Commission des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, sowie das Curriculum vitae (F) enthalten die nähere Beschreibung des Studienganges des Gefertigten und der wiederholten wissenschaftliche Reisen, die derselbe mit Unterstützung des hohen k.k. Unterrichtsministeriums unternommen hat.

Gegenstände der nächsten Vorlesungen werden sein: frühmittelalterliche Kunst, deutsche und französische Kunst am Ausgange des Mittelalters und im Zeitalter der Renaissance, ferner Kunstgewerbliches, soweit

es auf den Gang der allgemeinen kunstgeschichtlichen Entwicklung von Einfluss gewesen, oder geeignet ist, zum Verständniss des letzteren beizutragen. Die Ankündigung der letztgenannten Vorlesungen glaubt der Gefertigte durch den Hinweis auf seine Stellung als Beamter an einem Kunstgewerbemuseum und auf seine literarische Thätigkeit auf diesem Gebiete, die zumeist in den letzten drei Jahrgängen der Mittheilungen des österreichischen Museums niedergelegt ist, rechtfertigen zu können. Ein kritischer Katalog frühmittelalterlicher Textilarbeiten, und der erste Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung der Geschichte der älteren Textilkunst befinden sich im Drucke, und können über Wunsch nachträglich unterbreitet werden.

In Bezug auf die anzuwendenden Lehrmittel glaubt der Gefertigte auf die Erlaubniss der massgebenden Herrn Vorstände zur Benutzung der kunsthistorischen Lehrmittelsammlung am Institut f. Österr. Geschichtsforschung rechnen zu dürfen, welche Sammlung er seinerzeit unter Prof. Thausing's Aufsicht selbst verwaltet hat. Die Lehrmittel für Vorlesungen kunstgewerblichen Inhalts würden ihm am Österreichischen Museum zu Gebote stehen.

Wien 11. Februar 1889

Dr. Alois Riegl

Custos-Adjunkt am kk. öst. Museum

*Translation.*

To the High College of Professors of the Philosophical Faculty in Vienna University

Dr. Alois Riegl

Adjunct Curator at the Imperial Museum for Art and Industry requests to be admitted to the habilitation as lecturer in the history of art for the Middle Ages and the more modern period.

Six enclosures.

High College of Professors,

the humble applicant asks for admission as Privatdozent in the history of art for the Middle Ages and the more modern periods. As his diploma shows, he received on December 7, 1883 the doctorate from the philosophi-

cal faculty of Vienna University; he takes the liberty to submit as *Habilitationsschrift* his treatise on medieval calendar illustrations », which is very much involved with problems of medieval art up to the eleventh century. In order to demonstrate his familiarity with late medieval art history he submits his treatise about an Angiovinian prayerbook in the Vienna Imperial Court library, while a third treatise is devoted to the wooden calendars of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance with emphasis on the art of the 15th and 16th centuries. The enclosed diploma from the examining board of the Institute for Historical Research as well as his curriculum vitae entail a pertinent description of the studies of the applicant and the repeated travel which he undertook supported by the Imperial Ministry of Education. Subjects of his future lectures will be: early Medieval Art, German and French art from the end of the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, furthermore on crafts as far as they were influential for the general development of the history of art or added to the better understanding of the latter. Announcement of the last lecture the applicant wishes to justify by pointing out his position in the museum for crafts and his literary activity in this field, which is mostly evident in the last two volumes of the *Mitteilungen* of the Austrian Museum. A critical catalogue of early medieval textiles and a first attempt at a scholarly treatise of the history of earlier textile art are in press, and can be submitted later, if so desired. In regard to sufficient teaching material the applicant hopes to be able to count on the administration of the Austrian Institute of Historical Research, the collection of which he himself once took care of under the supervision of Professor Thausing. Instructional material for the crafts he will have available through the Austrian Museum.

Vienna, February 11, 1889.

Dr. Alois Riegl

Adjunct Curator in the Imperial Museum.

## APPENDIX B

### RIEGL'S LECTURE PROGRAM AS SUBMITTED FOR HIS HABILITATION

#### Programm der Vorlesungen

Meine Vorlesungen werden zunächst behandeln

1. Frühmittelalterliche Kunst bis zum J. 800
2. Kunst im karolingischen und ottonischen Zeitalter
3. Deutsche und französische Kunst im 11. u. 12. Jahrh.
4. Deutsche und französische Kunst im 15. Jahrh.
5. Deutsche und französische Renaissance
6. Mittelalterliche Kleinkünste und Bestimmung von Werken derselben nach Technik und Inhalt (als Übungen)

Die Erlaubnis zur Benutzung der Lehrmittelsammlung der Universität wurde von dem Vorstande derselben Prof. Wickhoff in Aussicht gestellt. Die Direction des kk. österreichischen Museums hat gleichfalls die Benutzung der Sammlungen und der Bibliothek dieses Instituts für die Zwecke der Demonstration beim Unterricht gestattet.

#### *Translation*

#### Program of lectures

My lectures will first deal with

1. Early Medieval art to 800 A.D.
2. Art during the Carolingian and Ottonian age
3. German and French art during the 11th and 12th cent.
4. German and French art during the 15th cent.
5. German and French Renaissance
6. Medieval minor arts and determination of such works according to technique and content (as seminars)

Permission to use the collection of instructional aides of the university was promised by the director Prof. Wickhoff. The director of the Imperial Austrian Museum also permitted use of the collections and the library of that institution as demonstration material for teaching.



## APPENDIX C

### RIEGL'S LECTURES FROM 1890 TO 1901

(based on the list by K. Swoboda and O. Pächt in *Historische Grammatik*, p. 17 f.)

WS = Winter semester

SS = Spring semester

WS 1890/91	History of the Ornament I (to the Greeks) 3 hrs.
SS 1891	History of the Ornament (Saracens) 3 hrs.
SS 1892	Spanish painting 2 hrs.
SS 1892	Beginnings of German art 2 hrs.
WS 1892/93	History of German art (continuation) 3 hrs.
WS 1893/4	History of German art from the 13th to the 15th century 2 hrs.
SS 1894	History of German architecture in modern times 2 hrs.
WS 1894/5	History of baroque art 4 hrs.
SS 1895	Netherlandish painting of the 17th century 2hrs.
WS 1895/6	Art History of the Middle Ages north of the Alps 3 hrs.
SS 1896	History of Netherlandish painting in the 17th century (15th to 17th centuries) 2 hrs.
SS 1896	History of Spanish painting 2hrs.
WS 1896/7	Dutch painting 2 hrs.
WS 1896/7	History of decorative arts 2 hrs.
SS 1897	History of decorative arts 2 hrs.
SS 1897	History of German Renaissance 2 hrs.
SS 1898	History of transition from ancient to modern art 5 hrs.
WS 1898/9	History of art of the migration period 2 hrs.
WS 1898/9	Italian art history from 1550 to 1800 (just to Maderna incl.) 3 hrs.
SS 1899	Velasquez to Murillo 1 hr.
SS 1899	Historical grammar of visual arts 4 hrs.
WS 1899/1900	German and French art from 768 to 1400 3 hrs.
SS 1900	History of early christian art 3 hrs.
WS 1900/01	Dutch painting of the 17th century 3 hrs.
WS 1900/01	Seminar on Rembrandt 2 hrs.

## APPENDIX D

### NECROLOGY ON RIEGL

From the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Instituts* VIII (1905), p. 126f., published with our fig. A; the author is not identified.

« Indem Alois Riegl (geb. am 14. Jänner 1858 in Linz, gestorben am 17. Juni 1905 in Wien) in das Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung trat, entschied er sich in jungen Jahren für das Studium der mittelalterlichen und neueren Kunst. Aber schon seine ersten selbstständigen Arbeiten führten ihn in das classische Altertum. Eine ernste, tiefe Forschernatur, die unverdrossen den Ursprüngen nachspürte, fand er im Wechsel der Erscheinungen auf dem Grunde allenthalben die die Welt befruchtende hellenische Kunst und wurde so zum Verkünder ihres ewigen Ruhms. Auch die classische Archäologie kennt Riegls Entwicklungs-geschichte der griechischen Ranke als bleibenden Gewinn an. Seine über kaum zwanzig Jahre sich erstreckende Produktivität ist umso erstaunlicher, als sein Leben nicht ohne schwere Hemmnisse, die nur zum Theil durch physische Leiden bedingt waren, dahinfluss. Sie versagten ihm und uns die Vollendung seines Buches über die spätrömische Kunstindustrie (1901), das ihn mit unserm Institut aufs engste verknüpfte. Ein Werk von ungewöhnlicher Geisteskraft, das fruchtbar fortwirken wird auch in dem Widerspruche, den es erzeugt, bleibt es nur seiner halbfertigen Gestalt zugleich ein Denkmal von Riegls Unersetzlichkeit ».

#### *Translation.*

« Alois Riegl (born on January 14, 1858 in Linz, died June 17, 1905 in Vienna) by entering the Austrian Institute for Historical Research decided at a young age to pursue the study of the art of the Middle Ages and more recent periods. However, already, his first independent projects brought him in contact with classical antiquity. A serious and profound scholar, who did not rest in pursuing the origins of things, he found by looking at the change of phenomena as basis the paramountly creative forces of Greek art and became thus the herald of its fame. Classical archaeology re-

cognized Riegl's history of the Greek tendril ornament as a lasting achievement. This productivity, spanning barely twenty years, is even more to be admired because his life was not without sufferings which were just partly due to physical ailments. These did not permit him to finish work on the late Roman art industry (1901), which connected him closely with our Institute. A work of unusual spiritual power, which will have its lasting impact in face of contradictory opinions which it evokes, will remain, even though half finished, a monument to the fact that Riegl cannot be replaced ».

This translation was supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Translation Program, Washington, D.C. and Brown University.

## FOREWORD TO ORIGINAL EDITION \*

On Pentecost 1893, the 32nd assembly of the German Philologists and school teachers met in Vienna. On that occasion it requested from the Director of the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry to consider organizing an exhibit that would consist of private collections and objects from provincial museums showing the most important examples of artistic productions of antiquity in this country. This exhibit was to be organized by the curator of the museum, Dr. Karl Masner. During the laborious task of collecting, exhibiting, and characterizing the material he gained the strong impression of how little this had been looked at in context, published accordingly, and evaluated in a scholarly manner. He did not fail to see that it shared this fate basically with all the applied arts in virtually every province of the Roman Empire, even with whole branches of ancient craftsmanship. Therefore, he rightfully realized that it would be generally useful if it were researched thoroughly beyond its geographical as well as its time limitations as a contribution for a future history of Roman art and as a chapter in the history of development of the crafts and artistic techniques in antiquity.

With such considerations and intentions Mr. Masner developed the plan of a work which was devoted to the ancient art industry in the countries of Austria-Hungary. He argued this plan at length and recommended it to the Highest Commission for Education and received government support thanks to the request of its division head, the later Minister for Culture and Education, his Excellency Vincenz Count Vaillet-Latour, to whom we owe so much in terms of promoting the arts and art history in Austria. The production and publication of the plan worked. It was assigned to the Court and Government press, the edition was entrusted to our Archaeological Institute at the moment of its foundation and Mr. Masner was able to enlarge its studies, to travel, and to employ for the publication scholarly assistance. Together with them he was able to collect during the course of time a considerable core of original photographs and to extract from the wide selection of the collected material a number of coloristic examples which would illustrate according to artistic media and cul-

\* Riegl's own footnotes are marked <sup>1</sup>

Annotations by R. Winkes are marked differently: (u)

tural periods as faithfully as possible preRoman, Roman, and late and post Roman aspects. This preliminary work done with such devotion was stalled by Mr. Masner who was offered the job as director of the Silesian Museum for crafts and antiquity in Breslau. Also at this point there cannot be envisioned a definite deadline for its completion. Completed at this point is just the present volume by Mr. Alois Riegl. This volume embraces just the first part of the first classical period by this author in that it discusses the art industry of the concluding phase of antiquity in relation with the art of the Mediterranean peoples. Already ascertained is the later publication of the second part which covers a period under Charlemagne and will investigate the changes of the conditions among the northern European countries. Further what Mr. Riegl has done so far with the original plan is according to content and character of treatment so complete in itself that a separate publication of this achievement appears recommendable and a separate publication of the two independent parts appears to be desirable.

We would like to stress such as is already self-evident regarding the editors. They take responsibility just to the degree in which they try to carry on the care taking of the visual part initiated by Mr. Masner and the outer appearance of the publication.

O.B. R.v.S.

## INTRODUCTION

A few years ago I received an invitation from the Imperial Ministry of Education to take part in a publication of works of art industry in the Austrohungarian Empire and especially to undertake the section dealing with the post-Constantinian and so-called migration period. I responded with particular pleasure to the invitation since it offered me a desirable opportunity to expand and deepen my research on the history of the ornament in important and rewarding areas. This task seemed to require a division into two parts; the first was to inquire after the fate of art industry among those who up to that time carried forward its general development – the nations of the Mediterranean; the second part was to determine to what degree the northern barbarian nations, who were newcomers to the world of civilization, took a creative part in the formation of the fine arts during the 5 1/2 centuries between Constantine the Great and Charlemagne. The first part should discover the connecting threads which would lead back to past antiquity. The second part was to expose the earliest roots of Medieval Art as it developed beginning in the ninth century among Germanic and Romance-speaking people in Europe. The first part seemed to me assuredly the more important, for without first having a satisfactory answer to the questions raised here one could not imagine reaching a successful solution of the problems of the second part.

Since I am now presenting this first part to the public I have to offer an explanation why, since published under a two-part title its content seems to offer on one side too little and on the other side too much: too little since by no means does it publish and discuss all types of monuments in late Roman art industry; too much, since besides art industry it seems to consider equally the other three great art media, especially sculpture.

To explain this apparent inconsistency between title and content, note may be taken first of all of the fact that I directed my attention not so much toward the publication of individual monuments as to the

presentation of the laws governing the development of late Roman art industry; these universal laws, however, were also in effect in all media during the late Roman period. Therefore, observations in each single field are valid for all others and thus support and enhance one another. They never have received a more precise definition even for the architecture, sculpture, and painting of the late Roman period, because rooted prejudices held that it was completely useless to look for positive laws of development in late antiquity. Indeed, whoever undertakes to describe the nature of late Roman art industry nowadays is already forced by this situation to extend his description on the direction of a general characterization of late Roman art.

Indeed, this latest phase of ancient art is the dark continent on the map of art historical research. Not even its name and its boundaries are determined in a manner which can claim general validity. The reason for this phenomenon does not lie in an external inaccessibility of the field. On the contrary it is open toward all sides and offers a great abundance of material for observation, which to a great extent is published. Missing has been the desire to get involved with it. Such an adventure did not seem to offer sufficient personal satisfaction nor easy appreciation among the public. This reveals a fact which cannot be overlooked: in spite of its seemingly independent objectivity, scholarship takes its direction in the last analysis from the contemporary intellectual atmosphere and the art historian cannot significantly exceed the character of the *Kunstbegehren* of his contemporaries <sup>(1)</sup>.

The following is an attempt to research a field so far neglected at least in its most general and fundamental aspects. It is not undertaken because the author himself feels above those imperfections of the human mind which he deplores, but rather because he feels that our intellectual development has reached the point where a solution to the question concerning the nature and the underlying forces of the end of antiquity may find general interest and appreciation.

But is it not an exaggeration to describe the fine arts of the end of the Roman Empire as a completely unresearched field? As far as the pagan monuments go, one cannot contradict this assertion. For example, a well dated major monument, the complex of Diocletian's buildings at Split, has not received a complete publication made for the purpose of scholarly research since the last century. According to the traditional division of study this responsibility would have rested with classical archaeology; however, in a time which has seen Mycenae and Pergamon rise from the dust, who would criticize classical archaeology for lacking an interest in the death-throes of antiquity? <sup>(2)</sup> When occasionally the decision was made to treat such a late monument, this has usually been



done because of its antiquarian-historical content and not for the sake of its artistic aspect. And if there is an exception, this has certainly been due to a scholar whose interests in the fine arts do not stop at the border of classics, thus enabling him to recognize the seeds and buds of new life even in works of the very late antiquity among signs of death and decay. Therefore, the very best of what has been said about the art of the third and fourth centuries of the Roman Empire was said by an art historian of the old school who did not recognize any division of fields of study and who, therefore, became one of the greatest and most knowledgeable of scholars, Jakob Burckhardt, *The Time of Constantine the Great*, 2nd ed., p. 260 ff.

Yet monuments of explicitly pagan character are the minority, especially if one places the beginning of the period under discussion here with Constantine's first Edict of Milan. By far most of the art of this period was made for christian patrons and it already indicates its purpose more or less explicitly by external devices. Now do all these christian works of art belong to an unresearched field? Isn't there an unchallenged term for them: early christian art? And hasn't this field already produced a simply immense literature?

In fact, the early christian monuments of art are not only published in great numbers (although incompletely and entirely without the preciseness one might desire); they have also been the subject of several historical treatises. Yet picking up anyone of these books one will always find more or less the following answer to the question of the essential nature of early christian art: early christian art was no different from the art of pagan antiquity save for the removal of the external and, therefore, offensive signs of paganism. Naturally the historian of early christian art does not find it necessary to explain the internal artistic nature of pagan antiquity during that late period. Thus we are forced to appeal to historians of pagan antiquity, who as already mentioned, tell us almost nothing about the concluding phase of its development.

Indeed, the large amount of research in early christian art in recent decades is, consequently, not art historical but antiquarian<sup>(3)</sup>. This statement should not be understood as criticism of traditional methods in scholarship and their representatives; especially since not only is the success thus attained of fundamental value for a real history of art but also because all currents of scholarship during the last thirty years dictated this tendency toward antiquarianism.

The characteristic feature of scholarship in the field of history in this generation was the one-sided preference for secondary fields. In the history of art (the ancient as well as the modern) this is manifested by an exclusive cultivation and over-estimation of iconography. No doubt

that the evaluation of a work of art is essentially weakened if one is uncertain about its content and message. Around the middle of the past century these lacunas began to be felt severely. They could be filled only through a comprehensive marshalling of literary sources, which in essence are not related to the fine arts, and this led to those immense studies in which our art historical literature of the last three decades to a great extent exhausted itself. No one would deny that there has been thus constructed an indispensable foundation for a solid edifice of future art history: but no one can deny that iconography provided only stronger foundations and that the completion of the building belongs to the history of art.

We presented our justification for considering the christian monuments of late antiquity because they are essentially unstudied at least in regard to their purely artistic character (which is silhouette and color on the plane or in space). To make a more precise definition of this character comes to no more than what was said a half century ago: that it is simply « unclassical ».

One is used to imagining an unbridgeable gap between late Roman art and the art of preceding classical antiquity. In its natural development, so one thinks, the classical would never have been able to become late Roman art. This notion must appear surprising, especially at a time when the term development has become the principle of all *Weltanschauung* and all interpretation of the world. Should the concept of development now be excluded from the art of the end of antiquity? Since such a step was unacceptable, one retreated to the concept of a forceful disruption of natural development by the barbarians. Accordingly, the fine arts were thrown from their high pedestal among the nations of the Mediterranean to which their development had brought them by the destructive action of barbaric nations from the north and east of the Roman Empire. Thus the Mediterranean had to make a new beginning with Charlemagne. The principle of development was thus salvaged, yet violent disruption through catastrophes, as in old fashioned geology, was also admitted.

It is significant that no one ever undertook to investigate closely the violent process claimed for the destruction of classical art by the barbarians. One only talked in general terms about « barbarization » and left the details in an invisible fog, the dispersion of which would not have supported the hypothesis. Yet what could one have set in its place, since everyone agreed that late Roman art did not constitute progress but merely decay?

To destroy this prejudice is the principal object of all the studies contained in this book. However, it should be made clear at the outset that this is not the first attempt in this direction, but that there are two precedents: the first made by me in my *Stilfragen* (1893), the second was

made by F. Wickhoff in his introduction to the publication of the *Vienna Genesis* in collaboration with W. v. Hartel (Vienna, 1895) <sup>(4)</sup>.

I believe I have demonstrated in the *Stilfragen* that Byzantine and Saracen tendril ornament of the Middle Ages was developed directly from classical tendril ornament and that the connecting links are present in the art of the diadochs and the Roman Empire. Accordingly, at least for tendril ornament, the late Roman period does not mean decay, but rather progress, or at least achievement of individual worth. The response to my investigations from scholars interested in this field was clearly divided: the most favorable were those scholars who worked directly with the pertinent works of art such as Otto v. Falke, A. Kisa and others. Scholars of a more theoretical inclination remained passive. Direct contradiction was, to the best of my knowledge, not voiced from any side.

Repeatedly, since 1893 there have been published treatises on Byzantine ornamentation. Apart from my publications they were, as usual, based on the motive and its meaning as object and not (as in my work) on the treatment of the motive as shape and color on the plane and in space. The avoiding of either agreement or contradiction has an explanation: these authors did not feel at home with my basic perception of development in art and, therefore, were not able to follow my exposition of it. Neither were the scholars to whom I refer able to break with the older notion about the nature of the fine arts dominant in the last thirty to forty years.

This is the theory, usually connected with the name of Gottfried Semper, according to which a work of art is nothing else than a mechanical product based on function, raw material and technique. When this theory appeared, it was justly seen as an essential advance over the completely unclear notions of the immediately preceding Romantic period; today its consignment to history is long overdue. As so many other theories from the middle of the nineteenth century. Semper's art theory was originally thought to be a great triumph of natural science, but it finally turned out to be a dogma of materialistic metaphysics. As opposed to this mechanistic perception of the nature of the work of art I presented for the first time in my *Stilfragen*, a teleological approach by recognizing the art work as the result of a definite and purposeful *Kunstwollen* which makes its way forward in the struggle with function, raw material, and technique <sup>(5)</sup>. Thus the latter three factors no longer have those positive creative roles attributed to them, by Semper's theory but rather restraining, negative ones: they are, so to say, the coefficients of friction within the entire product.

The idea of *Kunstwollen* introduced a determining factor within the phenomenon of development. The scholars biased by the existing ideas did not know what to do with it; for that reason, I feel that I should explain this persistent position, which the majority of my colleagues in the same

areas of art still maintain today seven years later in regard to my views as expressed in the *Stilfragen*. Secondly, there may also have contributed to their opinion the fact that my investigation in the *Stilfragen* was limited exclusively to the decorative field since there is a generally accepted prejudice in the form of perceiving the figurative arts not simply as superior, but also as subject to their own particular laws. Therefore, it was unavoidable that even among those who acknowledged the worth of my studies of the tendril ornament, some were unable to recognize the general consequences of my specific discoveries.

Considering this depiction of decorative arts, an important new step was taken in the direction in which I was moving when F. Wickhoff in his publication of the *Vienna Genesis* irrefutably proved that non-decorative works of art with figurative representations belonging to the late Roman period (generally assumed to begin in the fifth century A.D.) can no longer be treated like classical art (and consequently be condemned outright). In between these two forms of art there exists a mediating third artistic phenomenon belonging to the beginning of the Roman Empire. No doubt this phenomenon still has to be classed under antiquity, but it also has basic points of connection with a late Roman work such as the *Vienna Genesis*.

Thus the continuity of development in the field of decorative arts was also effectively established. That this pioneering result has not yet found appropriate recognition from all scholars concerned is to be explained by the limited and abrupt definition by which Wickhoff sought to distinguish Roman from Greek art. As for the development of late Roman art out of the art of the earlier Empire, Wickhoff went just half way, obviously because he harbored something of the materialistic concept of art. Where the *Genesis* and Flavian-Trajanic art meet, there Wickhoff finds in the *Genesis* proof of advance over classical art; wherever the *Genesis* differs from the art of the early Empire, there he no longer recognized advance but sees decay. Thus Wickhoff eventually becomes involved with the theory of catastrophe and this inevitably forces him to make his escape to the idea of «barbarization».

What is it that so far keeps even unprejudiced scholars such as F. Wickhoff from appreciating the nature of late Roman works of art open-mindedly? It is nothing else than the subjective critique which our modern taste applies to the monuments at hand. From a work of art this taste demands beauty and animation, while the scales incline in turn either to the first or the second. In antiquity both were present before the end of the Antonine period – the classical possessed more of beauty and the Roman Empire more of animation <sup>(6)</sup>. Late Roman art, however, did not possess either one, at least not to a degree acceptable to us. Hence on the one side

our enthusiasm for the classical period, and now recently (and not accidentally) for Wickhoff's favored Flavian-Trajanic period. However, from the viewpoint of modern taste, it seems absolutely impossible that there should ever have been a positive *Kunstwollen* directed towards ugliness and non-animation, as we seem to see it in late Roman art. But everything depends on understanding that the aim of the fine arts is not completely exhausted with what we call beauty nor with what we call animation, but that *Kunstwollen* may also be directed towards the perception of other forms of objects (according to modern terminology neither beautiful nor animated).

This book thus intends to prove that when compared to Flavian-Trajanic art and from the viewpoint of the universal history of the general development of art, the *Vienna Genesis* constitutes progress and nothing else but progress; judged by the limited criterion of modern criticism it appears to be a decay which historically did not exist: indeed modern art, with all its advantages, would have never been possible if late Roman art with its unclassical tendency had not prepared the way.

Accordingly, in this introduction preliminary treatment is given only to those aspects of our subject which because of their factual content are most easily grasped, no matter how extraneous they may appear at first sight. No one doubts that modern conditions in all fields where human *Wollen* can manifest itself – such as government, religion and scholarship – bestow certain advantages in comparison with the ancient world. However, in order to create modern conditions, the old propositions, on which the ancient situation depended, had to be destroyed and made to give way to transitional modes; though we may in fact like these less than certain ancient counterparts, there can be no doubt that they are important and necessary preconditions of the modern modes.

For example, the Diocletian-Constantinian government to a significant degree prepared the ground for the modern emancipation of the individual for all mankind, even though its externally despotic form of government evokes our displeasure, if compared with the Athenian government of the age of Pericles or the Roman state during the time of the Republic.

A very similar situation is apparent in the fine arts. For example, no one questions that linear perspective is used more correctly and perfectly in modern art than it ever was in ancient art. The ancients based their artistic creations on certain presuppositions which we shall explain more exactly at the appropriate place. These made it virtually impossible to achieve modern comprehension of linear perspective. Indeed, late Roman art does not display modern linear perspective; it even seems to move away from it still more, if compared with the preceding periods of antiquity. However, in place of those earlier presuppositions for artistic creation it

has substituted new ones which constitute the basis for the gradual development of the practice of linear perspective in the following periods. In order to avoid an easily engendered misunderstanding, it has to be emphasized most emphatically that beside its negative role of demolition in order to make room for the new, late Roman art always had positive aims, which have to date remained unrecognized, because they appear so different from our accustomed ideas of the aims of modern art which to some degree are the aims of classical and Augustan-Trajanic art.

In the same way everyone would immediately be inclined to consider the neglect of the cast-shadow in late Roman art as a regression in comparison with earlier periods of antiquity. Indeed, by the use of the cast-shadow the hellenistic period (the Lateran Asaroton) had already been able to connect objects and the ground on which they are situated. Our modern *Kunstwollen* also demands a connection among all objects represented in a picture, for which the cast-shadow plays an important role. Yet as soon as one has entirely clarified what hellenistic-Roman art meant to achieve with the cast-shadow, and on the other hand what we nowadays expect from it, he will find that the absence of cast-shadows in late Roman pictures creates an image closer to our own perceptions than its presence during earlier periods of antiquity. The latter attempted to connect the individual object only with the object immediately adjacent on more or less the same plane. Antiquity always sought a connection among individual shapes exclusively on a single plane. We, however, expect the fine arts, and thus also the cast-shadow, to connect individual shapes in space. In order to achieve the latter end, a separation of the individual shape from the plane was necessary, which, among other things, led to the omission of the cast-shadow as a connecting medium; this separation was indeed accomplished by late Roman art, which already perceives individual shapes as cubically three-dimensional (without, however, openly recognizing free space as such). Thus in perception it comes closer to modern art than to the art of classical, hellenistic and early Roman antiquity, all of which were constrained in relation to the plane.

Seen in this light the gold ground of Byzantine mosaics appears to be progress compared with the aerial rear plane of Roman mosaics. The latter remained always a plane, from which individual objects were distinguished by different coloring (polychromy) and rise, as they indeed appear to do to our sense of sight with a minimum of reflection, even though the so-called background may have come to be inserted gradually between the foreground figure and the rear plane. However, the gold ground of the Byzantine mosaic, which generally excludes the background and is a seeming regression, is no longer a ground plane but an ideal spatial ground which the people of the west subsequently were able to populate with

real objects and to expand toward infinite depth. Antiquity knew unity and infinity only on the plane. Modern art, however, searches for both in deep space; late Roman art stands exactly in between because it has separated the individual figure from the plane and thus overcome the fiction of a level ground which gives birth to everything. Yet still following antiquity it recognizes space as an enclosed individual (cubic) shape and not yet as an infinite free space.

Here illusion may be made to still another clue to a deeper understanding of late Roman art. It is known that the ancients were careful to avoid anything which reminded them of calamities and adversities of any kind and when they gave names to persons, localities, and such they selected names whenever possible from terms of luck and victory, of the good and the pleasant. But now listen to the names of late Romans and early Christians: Foedulus, Maliciosus, Pecus, Projectus, Stercus, Stercorius (compare Leblant in *Revue Archeol.* (1864), p. 4 ff). Now, these writers avoid exactly what pleased classical mankind, and seem to have chosen with pleasure the opposite of what was avoided earlier. While previously one wanted to hear about victory and conquest, so now one wanted disgrace and atrocity. Admittedly these are extremes which were seldom reached, but they indicate precisely and clearly the direction taken by the new «unclassical» way of feeling of the late Roman world.

This is not at all a suggestion that the early Christians in late Rome were searching for connections with adversities in these names and would, therefore, look for the ugly in their art; indeed, to conflate phenomena from two different fields would not be scholarly and is thus not permissible. But this change in names is a parallel phenomenon to the contemporary change in the visual arts: as in the names, here harmony is sought in forms which in previous generations of antiquity evoked disharmony; in either case the change is obviously dictated by a common basic *Wollen*. Now comes the decisive question: is this change in names to be reckoned as an influence of the barbarians? No one would adopt this position rather than pointing to humility newly adopted by Greek-Near Eastern christendom as a particular unclassical kind of feeling among the Mediterranean nations in the late Roman period. Nowadays we understand and appreciate the excessive humility expressed through such names; but only a very few among us would decide to follow this custom, because it is not in any way suited to our taste. Why should we also not understand and appreciate late Roman art with its positive, harmony-filled significance for the early Christians (and the late pagans), just because it does not suit our modern taste?

As a general term for the art period, the most important characteristics of which are to be described in this book, we chose the word «late Roman»,

and as its time frame the period between the reigns of Constantine the Great and Charlemagne, justification for these two decisions will be self-evident from the context; but some possible misconceptions must be avoided at the outset.

Among all the names which are given to the period under discussion none can be found which absolutely excludes misunderstanding. From the viewpoint of art history, the most misleading seems to me to be the term « The Migrations of Nations »; the word « late antique » comes closest to the actual facts in this case because the highest aim in art was still that common to all of antiquity – the representation of the individual shape on a plane – and not yet that of modern art – the representation of the individual shape in space. Only by isolating the individual shape within the plane did Post-Constantinian art achieve the necessary transition from the ancient notion of the plane to the modern notion of space.

If, in spite of this, I have chosen the word « late Roman », I did so because I meant to place the main emphasis on the process of artistic development under discussion as being uniform from its very beginning throughout the Roman Empire – in the east as well as west; furthermore, because the end of antiquity, which is the end of the Ancient World, is usually set in the year 476 A.D., while our discussion must continue far beyond this date. While the east Roman Empire after 476 represented the continuity of the Roman Empire until the days of Charlemagne it was confronted with a completely independent Roman Empire in the west (7).

By choosing the word « Roman » instead of « antique », I have in mind the Roman Empire but not – I would like to emphasize immediately – the City of Rome or generally the Italic and other nations of the western Roman Empire. I am convinced that in the creation of art even after Constantine the dominant role remained with the same nation that held this position with unprecedented success throughout antiquity, after the decline of the ancient civilizations of the Near East. From the time of Augustus philosophy was not Roman but Greek under the Roman Empire. Religious ritual was not Roman but Greek mixed with Near Eastern notions and the followers of pagan cults were still called « Hellenes » by christians of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. For the same reason the art of the Roman Empire has to be considered essentially Greek. No one, of course, will deny that in gradually adopting a different form of government and culture, the west also took its own distinctive course in art, and in the course of our investigations we will have constant opportunity to watch the birth of such differences. Yet we shall discover that the decisive achievements of the entire period were always the work of the eastern part of the Roman Empire and that the individuality of the Roman west expressed itself mainly in accepting some part of what the east had to offer as innovation



while rejecting the remainder. The time had not yet come for the West European nations, whose contact with the Near Eastern had traditionally been similar, to develop their own specific *Kunstwollen*. This was to take place after the epoch of Charlemagne.

Anyone, like the author of this book, who is convinced that there is no regression or pause, but that there is constant progress, must consider as arbitrary any attempt to confine the art of any period to firm dates<sup>(8)</sup>. Yet we would never come to a clear understanding of its development, if we would not differentiate individual periods of art, and once having decided to divide the development of art into several periods, one must attribute to each a beginning and an end. With that in mind, I think I can justify my choice of the Edict of Milan (313 A.D.) and the beginning of the reign of Charlemagne (768 A.D.) as chronological limits for the period of late Roman art. Yet an immediate qualification is necessary since many characteristics of the art of the fourth century A.D. can be followed back in an altered form to pre-Christian hellenism. For some time I was undecided myself whether to set the beginning of late Roman art in the time of Marcus Aurelius rather than in that of Constantine. Yet I thought I would abstain in this context from subdividing the entire period, which covers 4 1/2 centuries; in this first part of my work I shall emphasize the period from Constantine to Justinian, in the second part I shall emphasize the period from Justinian to Charlemagne (and in respect to Austria-Hungary, which was under Byzantine influence, one or two centuries more). This division is explained by the degree to which the barbarians separated themselves from the nations of the Mediterranean from the middle of the sixth century A.D. on.

The organization of such plentiful material which is not even exhausted in its best known examples is based on division by media. Basic laws are as common to all four media, as is *Kunstwollen*, which rules them all; but these laws cannot be recognized with the same clarity in all media. The clearest case is architecture, next the crafts, particularly when they do not incorporate figurative motives: often architecture and these crafts reveal the basic laws of *Kunstwollen* with an almost mathematical clarity. However, these laws do not appear in figurative works of sculpture and painting with their basic clarity and this situation does not depend on the motion and apparent asymmetry of the human figure but on the « content », this is the context of poetic, religious, didactic, patriotic association, which – intentionally or unintentionally – surrounds human figures and distracts the modern viewer, accustomed to art works with a message projected through a *fernsichtig* transient – optical view of nature and art from the essentially *Bildkünstlerische* in the work of art, which is the appearance of objects as shapes and color on the plane or in space. Accor-

dingly, the chapter on architecture is put first in order to make clear the basic perception of the late Romans as to the relation of objects toward plane and space.

The second place should be given to the crafts; instead they are placed last, and this requires an explanation. To date there does not exist a generally known and recognized art-historical work on late Roman crafts in spite of individual works in specialized technical fields (such as the excellent contributions of A. Kisa on glass and metal work from the Rhine). Such a work is the goal of this book. Here we meet again the consequence of that contempt for crafts <sup>(9)</sup> which theoretical art historians were willing to lay aside only in the case of objects such as Greek vases, where figurative representations are present or, as in the use of Mycenaean pottery, figurative art is almost or entirely missing from a particular period of art; in the latter case technique at least was considered, but only to explain motifs (an error still practiced), and not to understand the *Kunstwollen* which motivated the selection of technique. Since late Roman craft neither made widespread use of the human figure nor could be excused as primitive, its existence has been largely neglected. Ignorance of late Roman crafts and the aims of its positive *Kunstwollen* are the main roots of misunderstandings and unclear perceptions which hide under slogans such as «barbarization» and «elements of the migration period». Only on rare occasions can an origin within the territory of the Roman Empire be determined with the aid of external criteria, for the individual monuments used in this book as examples of late Roman art industry. Their identification as Roman art is thus mainly based on the recognition that they follow the laws creating such art. Hence one must first demonstrate the existence of the laws peculiar to late Roman art among monuments of undoubted Roman Imperial origin. Therefore, immediately following the discussion on architecture there has been added a section on the two figurative art forms - sculpture and painting, of which the former receives greater attention. The reason for this emphasis is first that sculpture is more familiar through more numerous and better quality reproductions. Of importance also is sculpture's close relation to metal work which will be the most important element in our discussion of the crafts.

No one will deny that the art discussed in this book belongs to the most important period in the history of the world. Nations which for a thousand and more years held leadership in the development of civilization were about to give it up; in their place there moved nations the names of which were unknown only a few centuries before. Ideas about divinity and its relation to the visible world, which had existed from the beginning of human memory, were now shaken, abandoned and replaced by new ideas which, in turn, would endure another thousand years up

to the present day. From this time of turmoil, when two epochs were parting we have a vast number of works of art, mostly anonymous and undated, but offering us a faithful image of the disturbed spiritual conditions of the time. Under such conditions it would be unfair to request from the first scholar investigating this art an exhaustive description of even the most important monuments. But in view of the fact that my commission was limited to the description of the general traits of the period, a considerate reader will never forget that in such a time of schism as the fourth century A.D., development was by no means strictly uniform but moved by spurts of progress mixed with moments of recoil. Though anachronisms abound – archaic survival on one hand, radical anticipation with almost modern perceptions on the other – the development was unmistakable.

Added to difficulties entailed in the commission of the present book is the dispersion of its material over the enormous region of the whole former Roman Empire and beyond it. Here I must admit that considerable portions of this material such as that of the Syrian, Arabic, North-West African, Southern French and English regions were as good as excluded from my examinations by external impediments. In spite of all this I felt that I should hesitate no longer to publish the results of several years of work. I did so with confidence for the success of this attempt, mainly because it is based on the perception that whenever I examined a work of late Roman art its visual appearance carried without exception the same hallmark of inner determination as any work of the classical age or the Renaissance. As for the nature of this inner determination which I feel instinctively in the presence of any work of late Roman art and which one calls «style», for myself and others I have tried to clarify its character in the several chapters of this book. I am thus presenting an explanation of the nature of late Roman style and its historical origins; I believe I have thus at least filled, even though in a general manner, a somewhat major lacuna, the last in our knowledge of the general history of art of mankind.



# I

## THE ARCHITECTURE

Of works of late Roman architecture there have come down to us almost solely those created for the purposes of christian worship. There is absolutely no doubt that at least during the fourth century A.D. buildings were still being made in the Roman Empire for the purpose of pagan cult. In individual cases this can be proven through source evidence. Similarly the relationship of government and individual citizens of the Empire to the ideal community of the church did not immediately become one of such subordination and renunciation that there was no call for the continuation of artistically secular buildings. Though one may regret deeply the loss of all the late pagan cult places and all late Roman secular buildings (except a very few unimportant remnants) this situation does not hinder us by any means from recognizing with sufficient clarity the major laws of development of late Roman architecture. This is because the future of this development depended exclusively on church construction. The particular *Kunstwollen* of the late Roman period thus had to find its clearest expression in the construction of christian churches. Churches, that is houses for the celebration of the service by christian congregations, are thus the finest foundation for our investigation.

Special types of baptisteries and tomb churches, however important as symptoms, may be excluded from a treatise which is to determine only the principal lines of artistic development. This is because from the viewpoint of function they already constitute a mixed type which stands between architecture and sculpture.

Late Roman church construction follows two systems: longitudinal building (the basilica) and centralized building. Those two systems are related to each other as motion is to immobility. Therefore the question as to which of the two was chosen by a particular *Kunstvolk* in a particular period is of basic importance in itself. But it cannot be denied, rather it is repeatedly demonstrated ever since the period of ancient Egyptian art, that the same *Kunstvölker* used both systems simultaneously trying to bring them closer through diminishing the kinetic qualities of the longitu-

dinal building and by awakening the centralized building from its non-kinetic repose. At least such was the case in East Rome during the late Roman period. Accordingly, we shall look first of all for the common elements unmistakably expressed by the centralized building and the basilica. These common elements in late Roman church architecture differ from the systems of construction of previous antiquity, on one side in the creation of space and on the other in mass composition. Late Roman churches contain vast interior spaces, which obviously were not born as necessary secondary aspects of function, but represent a problem of artistic process. Similarly, late Roman churches no longer have simple stereometric shapes (pyramid, cube, prism, cylinder), but they are composed of several such basic shapes together, one usually dominating the others. The special character of space is expressed mainly by the interior, while that of mass composition by the exterior. One should not overlook the fact that while designing the exterior, the architect had the same concept of space as a cube to be divided (in a material sense) and that vice versa he applied mass composition no less in the interior. As example of the latter one has only to point to the niches, which as half-cylindrical adjacent spaces accompany the fully cylindrical (polygonal, square) main space. The recurrence of the interior concept of space in the treatment of the exterior cannot be made immediately evident in a few words and its clarification therefore must be reserved for the latter course of our research. An insight into the intimate reciprocal relationship between the creation of space and mass composition will be achieved during our observation of the development of space. A simple historical fact may be mentioned by way of preface: the interior of the Pantheon in Rome has niches cut into the surface of the arch of the interior walls while the exterior is still a completely uninterrupted cylinder. Hence, the composition of masses is already present here in the interior space, while it is still missing in the exterior. From such observations one immediately recognizes the creation of space as the motivating element in the development of Roman Imperial architecture.

Yet is it not true that since the earliest cultural awakening of mankind the intention of each and every *Baukunst* which went beyond a simple sign-post was directed toward the creation of space? Architecture is certainly a functional art, and its function was indeed always to create spaces within boundaries in which man would have the possibility of moving freely. However, this definition already shows that the responsibility of architecture falls in two parts, which supplement and serve each other necessarily by pre-condition but which, for that same reason, also contrast with each other in a particular fashion: the creation of an (enclosed) space as such and the creation of borders for space. Thus from the beginning human *Kunstwollen* was given the option of pursuing one possibility unilaterally at the

expense of the other. One was able to let the borders of space spread to such a degree that the *Bauwerk* changed into a plastic *Bildwerk*; on the other hand one was able to move borders of space such distances that it evoked in the beholder the idea of infinity and the immeasurability of free space. The question is what the position of late antiquity, especially its concluding late Roman phase, was in regard to this.

The civilized nations of antiquity looked upon external objects according to their own human nature which they presumed to know. External objects were, therefore, material entities which though different in size were inseparable parts of an indivisible unity. The ancient's sense perception found external objects to be confusing and mixed; by means of the visual arts they took individual objects and represented them as a clearly finished unity. The ultimate goal of the visual arts during all of antiquity thus was the representation of external objects as clear material entities. Furthermore, in regard to the sense perception of the external objects in nature, the arts of this period avoided and suppressed anything that could negate and diminish the immediately convincing impression of the material individuality.

Even by itself this general definition of the ultimate goal of the visual arts during all antiquity, allows us to arrive at a conclusion concerning the relation between this kind of art and space. Filled with the air of the atmosphere, space leading the eyes of the naive beholder to see individual external objects as separate from one another, is for the very same reason not material but the negation of material and consequently a void. Therefore, because it cannot be individualized in a material shape, space was originally not able to become a subject for ancient artistic creation. Yet ancient art, by following strictly its responsibility, had to go even further: it had to negate and suppress the existence of space because it constituted an obstacle for the clarity of the absolute individuality of external objects in the work of art. Thus we must conclude that in antiquity, architecture at least in the beginning gave preference to bordering of space whenever possible, while it suppressed and concealed its other responsibility, the creation of space.

Even though ancient art had hence a common goal it did not remain without gradual development; this development was dictated by changing forms of expression, which during the various periods in antiquity were imagined to be the general expression of the unity of objects within the work of art.

First one tried to comprehend the individual unity of the objects with sense perception alone by excluding, wherever possible, any notion deriving from experience. Any aid from our subjective consciousness had to be avoided instinctively as a factor disturbing the unity of objects as

long as it remained a pre-condition that external objects were in fact objects independent from us. The particular sense organ, which we use the most for the perception of the external objects, is the eye. Yet this organ shows us the objects only as colored planes and by no means as impenetrable material individuals; this optical perception especially makes the objects of the external world appear to us in a chaotic mixture. Definite knowledge about the enclosed individual unity of single objects we obtain only with our sense of touch. It alone procures us knowledge about the impenetrability of the borders, which enclose the material individual. These borders are the tactile surfaces of the objects. Yet what we touch immediately are not expended planes, but only individual points. Only through repetition of the perception of impenetrable points, one and the same material individual following quickly another and located in proximity, can we arrive at the notion of an extended plane with its two dimensions of height and width. Hence, this notion is no longer obtained with immediate perception by the sense of touch, but rather with a combination of several preceptions which pre-suppose necessarily the intervention by a process of subjective thinking. Consequently, the notion of the tactile impenetrability as an essential pre-condition of the material individuality is already no longer based on the sensuous perception, but is achieved with the aid of the process of thinking. In ancient artistic creation there existed from the very beginning a latent inner controversy; one was not able to avoid a subjective blend in spite of the intended basically objective perception of objects. This latent controversy was the seed for all later development. The full degree of unavoidable uncertainty in the objective individuality of material external objects was yet to be reached. Our sense of touch is indispensable for arriving at a conviction of the impenetrability of the external objects, but it is not necessary in order to learn about their extensions. For the latter the sense of vision is more useful. Yet the eye transmits only color stimulants, which exactly like the sense of the impenetrability are expressed by individual points. We gain the notion of colored planes as multiplied points by the same process of thinking as gained with the tactile surface. Yet the eye accomplishes the multiplication of individual perceptions much quicker than the sense of touch. Therefore, it is mainly the eye to which we owe our notion about height and width of objects.

For that reason, a new combination of perceptions in the consciousness of the beholder is gained. Wherever the eye recognizes a coherent colored plane of one and the same stimulus, there arises the notion based on experience of the tactile unpenetrable surface of a finished material entity. Thus it would occur at an early time that optical perception alone was considered to be sufficient to gain certainty concerning the material unity of an external object without immediate need of support by the sense of touch.



As yet the absolute plane and a limitation to the dimensions of height and width always remained an essential precondition.

From the beginning, however, ancient art basically ignored the existence of the third dimension (depth), which we recognize in the limited sense as the dimension of space. Sense perception cannot recognize depth (as we found to be the case for the first two dimensions of the plane), but its comprehension requires a much more complicated process of thought than that required for the dimensions of the plane. The eye perceives only planes; indeed it is through foreshortened silhouettes and through shadows that we know about alterations in depths. This is so only in the case of objects already known to us (whose perception is familiar through experience). Looking at unknown objects we are at first not sure whether the curved silhouettes and the dark spots of color as we perceive them belong to one and the same plane. Again, the sense of touch gives us our first definite knowledge of the existence of the dimension of depth, because its manifold organs permit us to check different points at the same moment; yet knowledge of alterations in depth on the surface, and eventually knowledge of fusion to a fully three-dimensional rounded form requires a much greater ability to think than the development of the notion of a plane from the stimulation provided by the perception of individual points. Hence, if flat planes can no longer be perceived only on the basis of sensuous perception, but only through an appeal to our subjective reflection, then the latter is so much more necessary for the perception of bent and curved planes. This differentiation between two kinds of planes, the flat and the curved, is as important in the history of art as that between silhouette and color, because it expresses the fundamental difference between plane and space<sup>1</sup>.

To summarize: the art of antiquity, which was directed toward the greatest possible objectivity in the representation of material individual objects was compelled, whenever possible, to avoid the representation of

1) The nature of the sensory perception of the eye and the touch was above explained in accordance with the empirical theory. It is opposed by the nativistic theory which includes not alone height and width but also depth for the sensory perception. Yet also this theory uses as basis nothing else with it than the elementary disposition for a perception of space for which the help of the conscious awareness is necessary (compare for example C. Siegel, *Entwicklung der Raumvorstellung*, p. 23: here the perception of bodies which is based on a perception of depths has its origin in the visual perception, but is in a developed form the product of many other factors based on experience). The observations made above about the connection between an avoidance of thought and an avoidance of space in primitive art that is an art which is directed as much as possible towards a pure representation of objective sensuality remain still justified when the role of the conscience in the perception of the eye and touch is reduced to a minimum in accordance with a nativistic theory.

space as a negation of materiality and individuality not because of awareness that space was just a notion in the human mind, but rather because of the instinctive urge to limit space as much as possible in the naive search for the pure sense of comprehension of material essence. Of the three dimensions, height and width (outline, silhouette) as dimensions of the plane or level ground are indispensable in order to arrive at any notion of the individual material object; therefore, they were recognized from the very beginning of ancient art. The dimension of depth, however, does not seem so necessary, and furthermore, since it may obscure the clear impression of material individuality, it is suppressed, whenever possible, by ancient art.

Hence, the ancient civilized nations intended the visual arts to be responsible for representation of objects as individual material phenomena not in space (here after meaning always deep space), but on the plane. But how can material individuality be recognized within the plane, if it does not emerge from the plane at least a little? Thus from the very beginning a particular perception of the dimension of depth was required and on this latent contradiction rests not only the basis for the visual perception of relief in ancient art, but half of the development, which took place within the visual arts of antiquity. The other half of this development came, as was emphasized earlier, from the gradual penetration of pure sense perception of the material individuality of objects by a subjective idea.

Among the leading civilized nations the development of the visual arts in antiquity had three main phases:

(1) The greatest adhesion to the pure sense perception of the (seemingly objective) material individuality of objects and, therefore, the possible greatest assimilation of the material appearance of the work of art to the plane, yet not the optical plane, imagined by our eye at a distance from the objects, but the tactile plane suggested by the sense of touch, because on this level of development, to be certain about (touchable) impenetrability also means having the conviction of the material individuality. From the optical point of view, this is the plane which the eye perceives when it comes so close to the surface of an object, that all the silhouettes and, in particular all shadows which otherwise could disclose an alteration in depth, disappear<sup>2</sup>. The perception of objects, which

2) One can test this, for example, with ancient Egyptian statues by looking first from a distance where they make a flat and absolutely lifeless impression and then gradually from greater proximity, where the planes become increasingly lively, until eventually the fine modelling can be felt entirely, when one lets the tip of the fingers glide over them.

characterizes this first level of the ancient *Kunstwollen*, is thus tactile, and in as much as it has to be optical to a certain degree, it is *nahsichtig*; ancient Egyptian art expresses it in almost its purest form<sup>3</sup>. Foreshortenings and shadows (disclosing deep space) avoid this as painstakingly as the expression of mental states (disclosing the subjective psychic life). The main accent, however, is placed on the silhouettes which are kept as symmetrical as possible, because symmetry reveals to the exterior an uninterrupted tactile connection within the plane in the most convincing manner. Symmetry inherently belongs to the dimensions of the plane, it is limited, if not destroyed, by depth; for that reason in the visual arts of all of antiquity symmetry became the essential instrument of bestowing completeness on material entities on plane surfaces.

(2) Alterations of depth (projections) are not only admitted by necessity to the surface of objects in a work of art, but are willingly granted. Yet one watches more intently and strictly for a clear connection between the projecting objects on the common plane and among the individual projections. The absolute purpose in the visual arts is still to awake a perception of tactile impenetrability as a condition for material individuality; the coherent and tactile connection of the partial planes should not be interrupted: on the other side, the eye is now the most important recording organ allowed to perceive the existence of the projecting partial forms; these are mainly disclosed through shadows. To perceive them the eye has to move a little from the *Nahsicht*: not too far away, so that the uninterrupted tactile connection of the parts are no longer visible (*Fernsicht*), but rather to the middle between *Nahsicht* and *Fernsicht*; we may call it *Normalsicht*. This kind of perception, which characterizes the second stage in ancient art, is tactile-optical and, from the optical point of view, more precisely *normal-sichtig*; its purest expression is the classical art of the Greeks<sup>4</sup>. Besides

3) As can be understood from its development over a thousand years, ancient Egyptian art also developed at various points beyond this indicated degree; on the other side the Greeks, even during an advanced period were still partly constrained by it.

4) As far as can be decided based on present research in the history of art the intervention of the an Indo-Germanic people (the Greeks) was needed in order to start the already foreseeable development in spite of the latent controversies in ancient Near Eastern art by which later development was preconditioned in its origin. The ancient Near Eastern people were obviously inclined to remain in their strict tactile objective perception of the world of senses. The Greeks (and probably all the Indo-Germanic peoples) must, however, have had originally a different view about their responsibility in the visual arts, which was directed not towards experiencing material individuality in *Nahsicht* and by touching it, but toward an essentially optical-*fernsichtig* experience and thus toward a much more subjective comprehension. Certain appearances of Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean art can otherwise not

foreshortenings, shadows may now appear, but only half-shadows which do not interrupt the tactile connection of the surface as deep shadows do; to the same degree expressions of mental effects are admitted, as long as the interest of the beholder in the material individuality belonging to a particular carrier of a mental effect is not suppressed. Symmetry (as a repeated sequence, or by opposition of elements as in the heraldic style) permits a certain relaxation of severity, yet it is never dissolved, even though it is frequently only fully apparent from a certain distance away from the work of art.

(3) In a work of art objects are endowed with full three-dimensionality. Hence an existence of space appears to be recognized, but only as long as it adheres to material individuals; that is an impenetrable coherent space measured cubically, not infinite deep space between individual material objects. Even this third and final phase in ancient art still considers its only responsibility to be the clear representation of material individuals ignoring the space in which they are moving. Hence, as previously, the individual form is not placed in space, but on the plane, and even more so this plane is emphasized in a severer and more emphatic manner, even though individual forms take shape more in regard to the third dimension. It is significant that each material individual gives up its traditional tactile connection with the datum plane thus isolating itself from the plane, even though remaining on it in rank and file. Furthermore, the individual parts (projections) of the individuals are isolated thus dissolving the previous tactile connection of the surface; the projections themselves, however, are reduced again to the plane. This plane is no longer tactile because it contains interruptions achieved through deep shadows; it is, on the contrary, optical – colorful whereby the objects appear in *Fernsicht* to us and whereby they also blur into their environment<sup>5</sup>. The perception of objects characterizing

be explained satisfactorily; and also among the Germanic people we see later the same foggy subjective view repeated. Visual art as a classical art of the Greeks can indeed only be built on the basis of an exact tactile comprehension of objects. This basis was transmitted to them via the ancient Near Eastern people. However, the Greeks added to this their own natural inclination toward optical and subjective comprehension of objects and with this synthesis they solved the problem of the total representation of the material individual shape in the visual arts. In modern art, the subject of which is the representation of the material individuals in free and infinite space and with the help of space, the roles are in a similar manner divided between the Latin and the Germanic people. In a one-sided preference the former pursue the tactile, and the latter the optical problem.

5) We can constantly make this latter observation with our natural vision; its representation is a well known favorite problem in modern art, and it was painstakingly suppressed by antiquity which strongly loves individuality, even in its third phase. For that reason, late Roman architectural monuments and figures

this third phase of ancient art is thus essentially optical and in particular *fernsichtig* represented in its purest form through the art of the late Roman Empire. The shadows are deep and appear thus to be dividing up the plane. The common responsibility of antiquity, which is to mark off clearly the unity of material individuality during this final phase of antiquity is essentially and intentionally transferred to a supporting subjective consciousness. With the innovating reduction of the plane a stricter observation of symmetry takes place.

To the end of this third phase belong the christian basilicas and centralized buildings of the late Roman period. Observing a few typical examples from all three phases will demonstrate that these two late Roman types and their particular creation of space and composition of masses are only the consequential results of the previous process of development of space which dominated all antiquity.

The architectual ideal of the ancient Egyptians is best expressed through the tomb-type of the pyramid. Any of the four sides permits the beholder's eye to observe an always unified plane of an isosceles triangle, the sharply rising sides of which by no means reveal the connecting space behind. In contrast to this well planned definition of the external material form within the dimension of the plane achieved with great acuteness here, the actual functional responsibility (the formation of space) is entirely reduced. It confines itself to the construction of a small tomb chamber with inconspicuous entrances which seem practically non-existent from the exterior. Therefore, the pyramid should be called a *Bildwerk* rather than a *Bauwerk*. Here the material individuality in the strictest ancient Near Eastern sense could not find a more perfect expression.

Such reference does not suffice for buildings which are no longer dedicated to the dead, but to live people who enjoy mobility. But also here there was kept as much as possible a crystalline shape for the exterior which produced only unorganized planes without shadows. The clay house of the present day fellaheen faithfully maintains the flat-topped pyramid shape of the ancient Egyptian house; whatever space there is hidden behind the short walls without windows, it is not revealed in any way to the observer by the exterior. A more serious contest turned out to be the practical demand for space versus the artistic reluctance to create space in Egyptian temple architecture; studying the Egyptian temple is

(sculpted as well as painted) set themselves harshly and sharply apart from the environment in spite of the *fernsichtig*-sketchy treatment and they evoke thus a dislike in the modern beholder, who sees in it an obvious contradiction, a lack of style, barbarization, while the late Romans would probably make the same disapproving judgement about modern impressionism.

the more instructive, because we observe here the shrewd manner by which the Egyptians attempted to fulfill practical needs while successfully maintaining at the same time the artistic principle. Space needed for function was first divided in a sequence of dark chambers, the narrowness of which did not allow per se an artistic impression of space. But this was not sufficient, because large spaces were needed for particular ceremonies. Hence, courtyards were created which, because they are open above, lack a complete interior space; in addition colonnades (isolated shapes) were placed before the surfaces of the walls, constituting the sides, in order to interrupt the optical impression of a plane of the wall which stood behind and instead to place before the eyes of the beholder individual tactile shapes.

But there were also actual completely enclosed halls of colossal dimensions (Karnak) with solid ceilings; the wide planes of the four walls, ceiling, and pavement perceived at a distance and thus having an optical effect, would have created a most uncomfortable impression of space for the Egyptian. The halls are consequently filled with columns supporting the ceiling at such short intervals that all those planes which could have had a spatial effect were now cut up. In spite of the considerable physical expansion spacial impression was thus suppressed to the point of elimination and in its place a forced impression of individual shapes (the columns) was perceived by the eye. With the sloping exterior planes of the enclosed walls (in the characteristic configuration of the flat-topped pyramid) absolutely every recollection of the interior was suppressed; the crowning hollow groove with its emphasis on the free over-flowing end constitutes a form of protest against the assumption of a roof behind: windows which could have created an immediate communication between the interior and the exterior are missing, principally because they would have been annoying holes in an enclosed tactile shape; doors, as necessary evils, are installed as sparingly as possible. Toward the exterior the Egyptian temple, with its uniform walls, appears tactile; in its interior it disintegrates into microcosms each one filled with individual shapes (the columns). It already contains two elements of later development; the oblong courtyards (following the direction of movement of the beholder) contain the element of the axial building (in contrast to this there is the crystalline and centralized art form of the pyramid); the loose sequence of a multitude of courtyards and halls is the element for the building mass. Such opposites contained, simultaneously, the possibility and the demand for development.

The Greek columnar house already differs externally from the Egyptian temple in that it constitutes an easily recognizable unit, even though not strictly centralized, in spite of the limited bulk of the rooms in its interior. Furthermore, the individual sides are still planes, but in detail they are no

longer unorganized tactile surfaces but rather separated into the sequence of shapes through the columnar porticoes; if one wants to appreciate them with the eye as parts of a harmonic entity one has to move into a distance from those partial planes, hence the Greek temple is to be seen from the moderate distance appropriate for the *Normalsicht*, which ascertains equally both tactile clarity of the details and optical synopsis of the whole.

But such an emphasis on the relationships between the partial planes and the whole cannot be done without perforation of the rigid unity of the plane; and indeed, in the Greek columnar house we see a first recognition of three-dimensionality, shadow and space. Still, as the chief responsibility of architecture there remained the limitation of space rather than the creation of space; but the existence of space as such is no longer principally ignored. However, the Greeks of the classical period were by no means seeking the creation of interior spaces; the only larger space in the interior of a temple, the cella, was hypothetically reduced to the level of development represented by the Egyptian courtyard and our most obvious medium of communication between the interior and exterior of a *Bauwerk* (the window) is missing completely in the Greek temple (with a few exceptions resulting from special conditions.) Besides the roof, it is the oblong entire shape through which (on the sides and not the strictly centralized front) the existence of an interior for the purpose of human motion is revealed. The columnar porticoes collecting shadows like the folds of classical drapery express in a limited manner an additional recognition of depth and space in the objects. Here the eye immediately rests on the closed wall of the cella as it does at the flat plane of a relief. Hence, Greek art, although dominated by tactile material and so offering an immediate sensuous appearance, already permitted, at least to a moderate degree, a supplement of such effects through a reflection based on experience, that is a subjective intellectual motif.

One can hardly deny that a decisive progress in the direction of formation of interior space took place under the diadochs but all criteria necessary for a detailed determination of this progress are missing.

The oldest preserved, entirely enclosed, interior space of truly significant dimensions with obvious artistic intentions is the Pantheon in Rome <sup>(10)</sup>, the present shape of which goes back essentially to the first half of second century A.D. Though its original purpose is not determined with certainty, we may take it without reservation as evidence for the monumental *Kunstwollen* of the early Roman Empire. The columnar house prevailed no longer in this respect; even though the Greek columnar temple for the worship of the old Olympians was built again and again all through the Empire there is no doubt that in reality during the Empire, the Romans were not devoted to the inherited state gods, but to the Greco-Near Eastern

divinities such as Isis, Mithras, and others; the shrines thus were different from the old temples and dedicated to the cult of these new gods and were the true expression of the *Kunstwollen* for the time of their inception.

First a few words about the exterior of the Pantheon. Beside the attached gabled portico there is a genuine rotunda which, at least for the *fernsichtig* view, results in an absolutely symmetrical plane prospect. Earlier in antiquity the basic tactile unity of shape is not only kept as the highest artistic aim, but even to a greater degree than in the case of the Greek and certainly of the ancient Egyptian temple. The means for this were used neither by the Egyptians nor by the classical Greeks: any crystal-like reflection as clearly separated exterior planes appears invalidated; in place of the absolutely motionless plane typical of the Egyptian artistic ideal there exists now the restless curve searching for depth; in place of the exterior organization into partial shapes as observed in the columnar house, is now set the undifferentiated dissemination of all small parts within the whole. The windowless Pantheon stands on common ancient ground in that it means to be a material individual shape with firm borders for a clear unit; hence it also avoids mass composition on the exterior (because the porch is essentially only an enrichment of the portal and not a composition of a rotunda with the addition of the oblong columnar building); its striving for infinite alteration of depth within firm limitations constitutes the opposite of the ancient Egyptian style and, at the same time, a relationship with Greek art; here it pursues to the extreme the aims of moderate motion on the surface; in its unconditional surpression of all possible parts under the absolute unity of the whole it contradicts Greek classical art and approaches again ancient Egyptian style, which only had unorganized exterior planes.

The pyramid and the Pantheon thus constitute two extremes in ancient centralized architecture, while the Greek columnar building is, so to say, the balancing classical mean. While the pyramid was based on the *nahsichtig*, and the columnar building on the *normalsichtig* perception, the Pantheon has to adopt the *Fernsicht*; on any one zone of it there are no two points on the same plane; therefore, a uniform synopsis of them all is needed in order to perceive the desired unity (symmetry in height and width); while before the Greek pedimental front our eye was still arrested by its plastic components. This constant alteration of depth, furthermore, leads the gaze of the beholder irresistably into depth; but because this can only be perceived imperfectly (at the sides) or not at all (at the rear side), the Pantheon thus requires (as any work of art designed for *Fernsicht*), in a much higher degree than the classical and especially the Egyptian monuments, the aid of the subjective consciousness of the beholder. The exterior of the Pantheon thus reveals an intent not only to be isolated by the di-



mension of the plane, as the Egyptian and classical buildings were, but also by depth, which means an open recognition of cubic space.

The Pantheon is by no means the oldest rotunda we know; it is, at the very least, preceded by the mausolea which are practically without interior space, and by the formation of courts in the amphitheaters which originate during the time of the diadochs. The innovation of the Pantheon is, as far as can be said today, the one enclosed space it contains. Wherever one looks as one enters, the walls of the side or the vault of the cupola (in the apex of which the little opening for light is rather a cornerstone than a perforation), everywhere one sees planes altering depth never isolating themselves into a single shape, but rather continuously returning to themselves. Thus the beholder shapes his idea of space; but otherwise everything in the Pantheon is directed toward an awareness of the material limitations of space; and, in place of the pure concept, is set, if possible, the sensuous notion of the tactile homogeneous shape, the replacement of depth by the plane (height and width). Entering, and upon a first glance at the floor, one realizes the circular shape of the confining wall and concludes that the dimensions of depth and width ought to be equal; hence, there is evoked in the beholder a tactile feeling of unity through the dimensions of the bordering planes. More than any other interior space in the world the Pantheon preserved that pure ancient clarity which does not need meditation and that enclosed unity which, strictly speaking, belongs only to unperforated solid material shape. The early Roman Empire has thus found a solution for the problem of interior space to the end that it treated space as cubic material and captured it in absolutely equal and, therefore, clear dimensions. What seemed impossible, was now reality: free space was individualized.

In the interior of the Pantheon one finds in the lowest zone of the wall cylinder a sequence of recessed niches<sup>6</sup> half of which are blocked at the entrance by a pair of columns and thus identified as separated lateral spaces; the dark shadows, which gather in their recesses, achieve together with the bright separating planes of the rotunda wall in between a colorful contrasting effect, which means optical-*fern-sichtig*. As will be demonstrated, both became of greatest importance for the following period. We will find again mass composition of the centralized space with the equally centralized (yet divided) lateral spaces as well as the search for a rhythmic coloristic animation of planes as essential character traits in late Roman art; externally both are rooted in the movement so characteristic for the third phase

6) Roman architecture's preference for the niche can obviously be explained in that it constitutes in the same way as the enclosed cylinder capture of space in a cubically measurable unit and thus an individualization of space.

of ancient art, toward interrupting the tactile planes through deep shadows. The deeper artistic aim pursued by the introduction of adjacent spaces was a more effective definition of the individualized central interior space as respects depth and in a more evident isolation from the datum plane. This actual relation, the correct recognition of which constitutes the essential perception of late Roman architecture will become even clearer during the following investigation.

New elements in monumental architecture (however not in utilitarian architecture) of the Roman Empire were also the arch and the vault; corresponding elements in ancient Egyptian and classical architecture were the straight architrave and the flat ceiling. In the straight architrave above two supports the relation between energy and weight is expressed in the commonly most understandable, simplest, immediately obvious terms. The energy forces within the arch are, however, hidden and, similar to a curving into depths, they can only be understood through intellectual reflection and experience. Exactly the same relation exists between the flat ceiling and the vault. The vault already provided with its spandril a future acknowledgement of the wall; for the theaters of the earlier Empire one still wanted to disintegrate the surface of a wall through engaged porticoes. As far as we now know, the Diocletianic period was the first to place the arch immediately on the column and on top of this the wall: this again was a plane as the ancient Egyptian wall was, but no longer an unperforated tactile, rather an optical, plane interspaced with windows casting deep shadows.

The next step in the development leads us to the late Roman period itself, even though the building which we use for this (the so-called temple of Minerva Medica in Rome) <sup>(11)</sup> does not have a firm date. It is first of all a mass building, because the apses, an exclusively interior element in the Pantheon, appear here also on the exterior thus belonging to the silhouette of the whole, even though dominated completely from the central part of the building.

We have here no longer a single architectural element, but several (one major over-towering element and a few smaller ones), where the smaller seem to be, so to say, covered partly by the larger one. If one recalls that the creation of clearly defined centralized unity was the principal aim in ancient architecture (and the visual arts generally) one must conclude that with the appearance of mass composition the architectural *Kunstwollen* appears to be penetrated and annulled in a no less basic a fashion than in the case of the emancipation of space. Just as the latter, mass composition in architecture can also, at least in certain precedent, be traced back to the earlier Empire. As harmoniously as the formation of interior space, the rise of mass building fits the development of ancient

art if we look for its intention. This intention is clarified through the impact of the centralized mass building on the beholder from whatever side he may approach the building. From this large massive body of the building constantly one niche (or several) separate and face the beholder directly. When thus the entire silhouette, based on the absolute symmetry of the centralized construction, remains still a plane, the niches, which strongly project below, make the beholder very aware that the building is defined also in the dimension of depth as an isolated individual entity and hence also separated from the plane. The small central buildings (niches) constitute, so to say, an independent pattern from which the main central building projects; this law we will still find repeatedly and especially in the decorative arts of late Rome. Now we understand more precisely the meaning of the lateral rooms in the interior as we observed them previously in the Pantheon. Since in the Pantheon space was in fact considered cubic material and was, thereafter, bound to a strict regular shape immediately recognizable as an individual mass; by adding several rooms it appears to be more effectively rounded. The relation to early antiquity can be stated in the following manner:

It is still first of all a complete representation of a material individual shape. But this is no longer set on the plane and connected with it, but meant to be separated itself in full three-dimensionality from the level plane. Consequently there are inserted between the datum plane and the individual shape several small individual shapes which force the larger more effectively out of the plane. This relation can best be recognized in late Roman decoration; there one may compare the large cross on plate XVI.2 on a perforated maeander-ground, a typical example of the late Roman interrelation between sticking to the plane and the reciprocal isolation of individual shapes.

Not a lesser innovation are the windows in the drums of the temple of Minerva Medica (and even in the vault of the cupola). Since the ancient Near Eastern period there lateral light sources were unavoidable in utilitarian buildings; monumental architecture mainly did away with them, because from the viewpoint of an art, meant to shape the material into enclosed units, the window seen in *Nahsicht* or in *Normalsicht* constitutes a disturbing aperture in the wall and an unpleasant interruption of the tactile material through a purely optical, colorful, and unreal void similar to the shadow. Therefore, windows are rare exceptions in classical monumental architecture and wherever they are found due to external pressure, they were identified through careful framing as independent (individual) architectural elements. The pre-condition for the installation of windows in monumental art was thus the *fernsichtig* perception which made the shadowy hollows with their rhythmic change (symmetry of sequence) and the

bright part of the wall in between them appear on the same plane as coherent optical units. This pre-condition was met in late Roman art. When the window became a legitimate and necessary element in monumental architecture, this first of all achieved an immediate relation between interior and exterior, ever since never entirely abandoned (although it was still missing in the Pompeian House, and is in many ways still missing today in the Near East); secondly, from the viewpoint of a *fern-sichtig* observation, there was created a new decorative system based on a mere optical foundation, that is a regular change between dark perforations and light wall surfaces. For the interior, the abandonment of windowless architecture resulted in a disruption of the impression of an enclosed space, which could never be reversed. The visitor to the temple of Minerva Medica no longer appreciated that fascination of absolutely becalming unity, which still nowadays emanates from the interior space of the Pantheon, even though the proportions of all three dimensions were rather equal; the change thus made was not based so much on the increased number of niches now following one another in an uninterrupted sequence, but mainly on the windows which created on one side a coloristic animation of the wall surfaces and on the other lured the view from the material enclosure into infinite space.

This example shows convincingly that the ancient desire for absolute separation of the individual could no longer be kept and that its dispersion derived from an inner need for space. These windows, which open the view from the narrow enclosure to the outdoors, announce for the first time the new art of the future, which meant to represent the individual shapes not in their isolated existence and also not within a mass composition among a number of equal shapes, but in relation with infinite and immeasurable space.

Santa Costanza in Rome, a tomb church built around the middle of the fourth century A.D., shows the system of Minerva Medica developed in as much as the ring of niches appears to be merged into an uninterrupted ambulatory which is separated from the central space by a circle of double columns. Created are thus two concentric rotundas the outer of which is topped and dominated by the inner. The stylistically important innovation here is a suppression of all articulation (niches) in favor of a simple massive outline. But the real progression in the Roman centralized building as used for christian cult did not take place in the city of Rome but on east Roman soil. In order to understand this correctly one must know the development of the christian axial building to this point <sup>(12)</sup>.

The clear and enclosed unity of the material individual in architecture as desired by ancient art obviously found its greatest satisfaction in the centralized building; but the essential force was, for obvious reasons, the

axial building. The axial building was created for the movement of people in its interior. Movement, however, necessitates an abandonment of the level plane, consideration of deep space, and emergence of individuality in a dialogue with space. Ancient art was constantly seeking to bridge this latent contradiction or at least to hide it; yet especially in this attempt was encased a problem and hence a cause for unceasing development. Thus we can observe also in classical art how the dissemination of the tactile exterior walls into porticoes did not take place in the centralized, but in the axial building (the temple).

For the Roman Empire the problem was to create space within the axial building in the same manner as had been done for the centralized building (the Pantheon): <sup>(13)</sup> that is through individualization of space via the formation of equally confined masses of space. When exactly this problem was pursued consciously can nowadays not be determined. During the first century of the Roman Empire just the Pompeian house demonstrates how at least in profane and domestic architecture one was basically opposed to any creation of interior space; strictly speaking, there is still not yet an absolutely enclosed space, because almost all rooms remain open towards the atrium, the open courtyard which constitutes the actual medium for movement. At the same time there existed basilicas. Hence for the first century of the Empire we have here testimony for the existence of a longitudinal mass building, i.e. the high hall, placed concentrically into a larger, but lower structure. But the origin of the forum basilica lies in the open court, which was covered out of necessity and utilitarian considerations. There is indeed no doubt that this particular preparation of a utilitarian building was a symptomatic and preliminary step for the future development; on the other side it is important to observe that the elements of an enclosed hall surface first in the utilitarian building and not in an ornamental building. By the way, we are not sufficiently informed in what exact manner courtyard space was originally raised and covered, since the remains from basilicas of the first century of the Empire are too fragmentary and the visual illustrations as represented in wall paintings are very uncertain. The most important question is: did the high and massive upper wall already exist? I would like to deny this categorically and prefer to imagine a metope-like solution. However, there is no doubt that the ceiling of the basilicas requested an open (but also encased) wooden roof, while any enclosed interior space (thus particularly any centralized building) needed a vaulted ceiling. As long as the wooden roof above the central nave of the basilica existed, one cannot consider it to be truly enclosed interior space. Just as romanesque art gave a vault to the basilica, it also added to the central nave a perspective, that is a limited portion out of infinite space thus transforming the basilica into a real directed building. The

Roman of the Empire however, only saw the enclosed planes of the wall in the central nave but failed to see the space enclosed by them because the monumental upper conclusion (the vaulted ceiling) was missing. Very important for the coming change in style was the fact that in the basilica the lateral upper lights (windows) had to be made visible from the inside as well as the outside. They were also present in the ancient Egyptian hall, but hidden to such a degree that one could not perceive them as perforations of the wall either from the inside or the outside. To what degree ancient architectural taste was still during the earlier Empire directed against the perforation of the (tactile) wall by the means of windows is demonstrated with the Pompeian house, which lacks windows and rejects the exterior, and with such monumental buildings as the Pantheon from the time of Hadrian.

The first large enclosed halls we know of belong to the third century A.D. of the Empire. Their exterior seems intentionally not to appear free. The oblong hall of the Baths of Caracalla constitutes the core in a layout of many chambers enclosed by a common square wall; similar seems to have been the Tomb of Diocletian. This indeed was the only intention directed exclusively toward the mounting suppression of an external articulation; better visibility is the spatial aim in the interior which leads to an immediate investigation of the interior in oblong halls during the middle Empire.

The beholder enters a central nave divided into three square and central compartments. These squares are sharply marked through huge pillars with gigantic columns in front and through cross vaults resting immediately on the latter (without an upper wall in between them); the point, where they cross, is located exactly above the center of each square. When entering and looking at the plan of the floor the beholder is aware of the equal distances in height and width of the first square closest to him, and looking ahead in the direction of the indicated depth he observes the same square repeated three times and can thus estimate the entire depth and a becalming sensation of symmetry and security. Release of tension is achieved through dividing the oblong shape into three central spaces; since all three are equal they are unified by their sequential symmetry as was the case in the portico of the Greek columnar house. However, unity is not presented here as immediately as it is in the Pantheon, because it necessitates at least a summarizing reflection; however, it is decisive that the beholder is made aware of the individual symmetry with exclusively symmetrical means. Indeed connected with symmetry is the notion of a level plane and with that, again, the notion of material. While here is expressed a connection with early antiquity, the characteristic innovation in late antiquity, that is the emergence of the individual shape from the plane,

is revealed through the fact that in the so-called Maxentius-basilica, the large halls of the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the actual main room is accompanied by lateral rooms, which expresses the function of the lateral naves in relation to the central nave or, of the small patterned level ground in relation to the one with a large pattern. Thus was achieved that in all the rooms the eye did not meet anywhere the plane surface of an enclosing wall, but rather met, following the forward direction of the view, the curved wall of the apses and met by looking up high the cross vault no less curved; at the sides it finally forced its way into large lateral spaces, which in full widths accompanied each square of the central nave; even the arches under the cross-vaults were perforated largely by windows the shape of which followed the one of the arches.

The longitudinal shape of the christian basilica differs from the halls just mentioned foremost in that the central nave with its vaulted ceiling is not confined to an enclosed interior space, but similar to the forum basilica still covered with a wooden roof: the central nave of the christian basilica thus remains an open and so to say just temporarily covered court. The eye of the beholder in late antiquity perceived it indeed as level walls disintegrated by columns and as a circular apse, but not as an encompassed (and this includes the above) enclosed space. Consequently, any necessity ceased which would have divided the central nave as in the case of the pagan halls into several central spaces (cubes of space).

The central nave of the christian basilica has columns which are placed in a such manner that they no longer permit a clearly arranged articulation of the floor; it has, furthermore, a massive upper wall interrupted by windows above, without vertical division; finally comes a flat ceiling also lacking the articulation of the cross vaulted halls in the baths. The modern visitor to a Roman basilica, therefore, usually imagines himself in a space designed for stimulation of perspective; but as such it is always to be understood as a (limited) portion of infinite space, and it is clear that if early christians had really been governed by a desire for perspective intention, they could not have interpreted the basilica in any other way than as an abrupt break with a thousand-year-old artistic tradition and a sudden leap toward an artistic tendency already related with our own. However, a closer look demonstrates that such an unnatural gap in the steady development did not exist and that in Rome the early christians did not at all wish to make the central nave of the basilica an enclosed interior space and that they also did not want a perspective section in space, an impression which belongs only to the modern beholder.

The visitor's first perception of the christian basilica leads immediately to the route described: height and width of the central nave are set in a beneficial proportion to one another which evokes in the beholder

a particular impression of symmetry and of the level ground; one has only to recall a shift in these relations such as the unilateral increase of the height during the Germanic Middle-Ages in order to know exactly how close the christian basilica is still to basic rules of the common ancient *Kunstwollen*.

The treatment of the parts, which have now left behind the last trace of a tactile connection, could not become anything else but coloristic in the lower part. This is expressed through the quick succession of the columns standing close to one another and through their intercolumnations, in the upper wall through the interrupted sequence of windows. The same striving for isolation is also demonstrated in the interrelation of the individual parts, for example those among the horizontal elements. Besides a superficial shaping of all parts designed for a hasty *Fernblick* we see above the columns a wall and above the wall a flat ceiling without a proper connection in between. Just the insertion of a wall between the columns and the ceiling means a disruption of the necessary connection between support and ceiling: a significant difference between the Greek columnar house. It seems as if one willfully planned to eliminate any illustration of a causality between the parts. The unsatisfactory element contained in it as far as we are concerned comes to the surface particularly in the contrast between the slim columns and the vast wall. It is frequently overlooked by the modern visitor because of the perspective impression which keeps his attention, an impression which could not have been part of the original condition simply because of the installations (eliminated in the time of the Baroque) in the center of the nave (cancello and ambo). The early christian basilica is in this respect unique and was never repeated in the history of art. Medieval art of the North again did away with this wall and created cubic units in space which were, however, consciously removed from the level plane into infinite space. Baroque art did indeed reestablish the closed wall, but articulated it with niches, placed above a connecting frieze and it preferred to cut windows in the barrel vault rather than to permit an upper wall surface of larger dimensions.

The willful elimination of all tactile connections between the parts of a *Baukörper* in the old early christian basilica resulted in its losing the impression of necessity and infinite organic connection of all parts which classical and also modern art needs for the composition. This had been lost (also in the centralized building, but here to a lesser degree). It is exactly the same phenomenon which we recognize in contemporary sculpture and painting as ugly and crude figures. The same underlying artistic reasons will be shown to exist there in detail during the investigation of the development in late Roman sculpture. This parallel deserves to be mentioned at this point especially because the developing basilica type is



not likely to be attributed to the influence of the northern Barbarians. Thus one has established, at least in architecture, its Mediterranean origin, the clearly anti-classical character of which should not be accounted to « barbarization » for its treatment of detail or for its general plan which is in accord with tradition.

The exterior of the christian basilica displays all the marks of a massive building. On each of the four sides an adjacent building emerges from the flat wall of the main part of the building (the central nave): at the facade appears the atrium (for that reason the early christian basilica never acquired the term of facade), at the sides are the lateral naves (and eventually the crossing arms of the transept), and at the rear wall the apses. The projecting *Bauwerk* in its totality from the level ground is thus effectively indicated, even though what is visible of the main building constitutes, in each instance, a flat wall surface<sup>7</sup>.

Compared with the centralized massive building, the characteristic difference lies in the avoidance of a dominant element equally controlling all sides. The resistance was so great that the early christian basilica even placed the tower away from the basilica, while the northern Europeans characteristically used this medium as a culminating crown for the material unification of the *Bauwerk* <sup>(14)</sup>. For the centralized building the dominant element (the central cupola) was the medium for a (even though rather loose) connection with the level ground, for the romanesque and the gothic dome (as tower) a medium for the connection with infinite

7) That the basic rendering of cubic spatial three-dimensionality of the *Bauform* constituted the supreme *Leitmotive* (leading motive) of all architecture of that time is demonstrated most convincingly in those buildings, which are represented on the paintings or reliefs of the Roman Empire during the subsequent centuries, and when they had the shape of the rectangle, they were carefully placed diagonally and, wherever possible, seen in birds-eye view. They were thus explicitly represented as space-filling individuals; yet, the existence of free space surrounding them is aesthetically denied through outlines, which are in a most simple manner and massively enclosed, thus negating all connection with outer space. The same artistic purpose was pursued by turning the axial buildings by 90°, for example in the relief from the side of a sarcophagus in the Lateran (illustrated in Grisar, *Geschichte Roms*, I. 376, fig. 110), where a church building presumably to be seen as a one nave structure begins in profile with the apse and is then turned at a right angle toward the facade, while the roof follows in a perspective contortion the row of shingles until, finally, the entrance side appears in frontal view toward the beholder. Since this is not, as one may have thought, clumsiness but positive *Wollen*, it should not surprise us that the same manner of contortion can be observed also in figurative representations (for example, in the so-called Constantius of the five-part Barberini diptych). Here is expressed at the same time a kind of objectivity, which recalls the ancient Egyptian, the traces of which we at least may pursue until the Grimani fountain reliefs in the Vienna Hofmuseum (the hut of the relief with the representation of sheep).

space: the early christian basilica principally rejecting these forms of connection did not recognize at all infinite space and isolated itself from the level ground as harshly as possible.

It is also very instructive to compare the exterior of the early christian basilica with that of the Greek peripteral temple, because both are axial buildings and oblong rectangles. A comparison of these consequently gives us the clearest insight into what makes late Roman differ from classical perception. In the Greek temple the outer surface of each of the four sides is articulated with projections (columns) which however keep in their totality a level plane and therefore seem to protrude from a level ground <sup>(15)</sup>; in the basilica the exterior surfaces are flat walls, which do not show any tactile projection and therefore are perforated in an optical manner through the shadowy windows. In the manner of a massive building is added to each side an adjacent building (lateral nave, atrium, apsis) thus replacing the projection on the level ground through a gradual transition into the dimension of depth.

Both late Roman-christian building types – the basilica and axial building – therefore follow one and the same leading tendency; the axial building indeed solved the problem in a radical manner. Even when strictest individuality abandoned a transition with mass composition, the centralized building kept, still in accordance with ancient tradition, a certain connection with the level ground, while the axial building consciously gave up this connection. It showed thus the actual means used by medieval and modern art for the placement of the individual shape in free space. Yet success was (judged from the modern point of view) acquired at a high price, because the isolation of individual elements and their parts on the plane gave early christian art the described image of unnaturalness and clumsiness such as we do not encounter it again during the entire history of art. Indeed, the perspective effect of interior spaces in basilicas was already able to teach us how all future hopes had to be connected with this particular system, while the contemporary centralized building was not willing to abandon outright the connection with the ancient perception of relief. Hence it excluded itself from a fruitful future development. While the part of late Roman *Kunstwollen* represented by the basilica evokes very clearly less interest for the modern than the centralized building does, any ability of future development rested with the former.

One is accustomed to present the relation between the two types of buildings in regard to their topographical distribution in the Roman Empire in a manner which makes the centralized building emerge from the East and the basilica in the West. But this notion has to be corrected in that both systems were originally characteristic of the Greek-Near Eastern

region, because still today there must remain more christian basilicas in the East than on West Roman soil <sup>8</sup>. The basilica was consequently not a specifically West Roman scheme and was obviously considered at least in the first centuries of christian church architecture anywhere (in the East as well as in the West) to be the most appropriate type for a christian house of worship. The differentiation between east and west is first negative. The West Romans absolutely disdained the centralized form for the house of worship through which nothing was expressed other than the fact that the Romans were principally and imperatively in need of an absolute isolation of individual art forms and consequently an appeal to the connecting subjective experience in place of the sensuous perception.

This latter perception, which presents itself as immediate continuation of pre-Constantinian Roman imperial art was, however, in Greek church architecture of the fourth and fifth centuries by no means yet the dominant one. One may just say that it was never completely extinct; even though the monuments of centralized building from those centuries were in number far behind the basilicas, they are not entirely missing. Furthermore, we see in the East Roman basilica certain traits revealing undoubtedly a basic centralizing intention: for example, the omission of the transept which, on the exterior, destroys the symmetry of a lateral view and, in the interior, increases the obscurity; yet which (what seems to have been welcomed by the people in the West) for the beholder (looking from the nave), creates a mysterious atmosphere around the altar; furthermore, the installation of choirs which at least partially removed the upper walls of the central nave which had bothered ancient feelings so much (compare particularly the church of Demetrius in Saloniki: here exists already an alteration between column and tier and a complete perforation of the wall up to the ceiling, which seems to anticipate a major part of the northern romanesque development).

The relation between early Byzantine and romanesque architecture during the late Roman period can be expressed in the following terms. All over the Empire the common christian house of worship is first of all the basilica, though it took a while until it was the generally accepted type. Besides this, the early Byzantine people pursued, from the beginning, their inclination to establish, in the interior as well as on the exterior of

8) Indeed, for this the study of miniatures can be used in a very illuminating manner. In the *Vienna Genesis*, an East Roman work of the fifth century A.D., interiors are presented alternatively as centralized spaces (Hartel-Wickhoff plate XXX, Potiphar's boudoir in a semi-circular double portico) and as rectangular oblong spaces (Ibid. Plate VI with Noah's bed). The Vatican Virgil, which originated about a century earlier and represents probably a western shoot of Greek art, characteristically prefers oblong interior spaces (e.g. in the Dido scenes).

the house of worship, an impression of a material and cubically measured unity of form insofar as creation of space and mass composition permitted<sup>9</sup>. The West Romans adhere unilaterally to the basilica. From here develops during the course of time a sharp difference; in the time of Justinian this must have already materialized. The role of the West Romans during the pre-Carolingian period was the more a passive one, though the future problem was left to them; the abandonment of the sensuous perception meant indeed a stagnation of artistic creation and a new development could only begin at a point when one looked again at sensuous perceptions with attention and pleasure. The more influential *Kunstwollen* was left, therefore, and without a doubt, with the Greeks for which reason they maintained leadership for many centuries.

Yet there remains to be described the character of the Greek christian centralized building during the late Roman period. Its beginnings are still dark; but as soon as we begin to see better, we recognize as a most remarkable fact that the older monuments known to us also show a clear tendency to establish a connection with the longitudinal building. The altar was never placed in the middle, but always opposite the end of the entrance; this gave direction conflicting with the central calmness. The necessary conciliation between these latent contrasts constituted a problem, which as long as it was pursued in Greek church architecture was fertile and able to develop. In the late Roman period fall all the original achievements which pursue a solution to the problem directly following the accomplished articulation of partially hidden lateral rooms or the assimilation of the hall divided into three squares. The latter had been done during the middle of the Roman Empire (between Marcus Aurelius and Constantine). Here belongs also the Hagia Sophia as the climax of all solutions to the problem.

During the following time Greek architecture (and art, generally) took a one-sided centralistic way of expression evidently through its separation from the western regions and through the preferred trade with

9) That during the time of Justinian one was inclined toward an even balance between depth and width in the interior of the churches (and consequently, in the artistic composition generally) is demonstrated not only with a stylistically critical investigation but is expressed for us also in clear terms by the Byzantine writers of the Justinian period (such as Procopius and Agathias) compare, F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. D. Christl. Kunst*, I, p. 555). The strife for height basically connected with the massive building (e.g., San Vitale in Ravenna) could be observed already in the time of Constantine (J. Burckhardt, *Leben Konstantins*, p. 264 concerning some related remarks by Eusebius). Thus is gained not only an important parallel for the stiltling of round arches in the galleries and the like, but also for certain typical phenomena in later, particularly Byzantine figurative arts one the earliest examples of which is represented in the mosaics of San Vitale.

the Near East. As anywhere, so also in church architecture a type was established: the Greek cross with a central cupola which compared to the Hagia Sophia meant externally rather a regression back to the tactile centralizing form – in earlier antiquity. No longer did the Near Eastern-Greek christendom create problems for the visual arts, because it was as aware as the Mohammedans of a connection between religion and art, and it would have admitted the necessity of reform of orthodox doctrine, if it had thought that art needed reform. Such development however is beyond our set borders. It is doubtful that one may say Byzantine art existed before iconoclasm, that is Greek art with Byzantium as center.

The particular characteristic of late Roman architecture is its relation to the problem of space. It recognized space as a cubic material quantity – it differs in that from ancient Near Eastern and classical architecture; but it does not recognize it as an unlimited shapeless quantity – which makes it different from modern architecture.

In order to recognize these conditions fully it suffices to compare a Roman centralized building with a Greek temple and with a little gothic village church. The outline of the centralized building (the Pantheon) we nowadays would find certainly to be harsh and repelling; this might seem surprising, if one considered that our modern idea about art is also based on the *Fernsicht*, but it can be explained through the Roman centralized building, which searches individual completion in itself. Yet we expect a visualization of the unity of the individual building with the surrounding space and are, therefore, pleased by the top of the church tower perforating the atmosphere. But we also like the Greek temple, even though it is separated strictly from space, because it at least is searching for a connection with the following (ideal) level ground and this connection of an art form with two dimensions is sufficient to deceive us concerning the lack of a connection with the third. Although the Roman centralized building did not give up completely the connection with the level ground, it at least reduced it essentially for closer observation of the resulting isolation which makes us refuse this type of building. Yet completely isolated is the other late Roman type of building: the basilica. One would expect it to appear to us even more unpleasant than the Roman centralized building. Miraculously often the opposite happens! This group of buildings does not fail to make a deep picturesque impression on anybody who passes the east side of San Apollinare in Classe on the train from Ravenna to Rimini. Yet asking for the reasons, we hesitate; it derives on the one side from its free location, which was certainly and originally not planned, and furthermore very much on the belfry, which does not belong at all to the original building system. If one approaches such a basilica through the narrow street of a

town, the purely artistic impression will usually be even weaker than that of a Roman centralized building. The builders of the early christian basilica have, no matter what, dissolved the connection with the plane, but by no means have they searched in its place a connection with infinite space. Just as the way was free for the latter development the basilica contains, therefore, elements which the modern art could use for its own purposes, indeed, under especially favorable circumstances such as the above-mentioned group of buildings in Ravenna, these elements surface in order to evoke in the modern beholder artistic stimuli which the former creators of the buildings had not at all in mind.

How the leading principles of late Roman art surfaced in decoration can be demonstrated better with the chapters on sculpture and art industry; yet the discussion of the decorative treatment of some architectural elements may already take place here because one can gain the immediate understanding of the fact that the laws of creation in the decorative arts have been no different from the ones already known in architectural composition as they are present in the two systems, the centralized buildings and the basilica.

With figs. 1 and 2 we come to know marble capitals from a column in Salona which dates back between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. We recognize immediately the calycular shape of the Corinthian capital; and we also see here repeated as characteristic motif the acanthusleaf, yet, in a completely different execution. Whereas the acanthus leaves of Corinthian capitals from the classical period are on one side firmly rooted on the background, they separate themselves on the other in a freely projecting curve from it. At Salona they are nowhere adherent to the background, but everywhere sharply set-off with a vertical cut; however, they do not unfold with independent movements, but are placed as even surfaces on the core of the capital so that they do not interrupt anywhere the straight inarticulated outline of the capital<sup>10</sup>. This means that the acanthus leaves previously firmly connected with the ground in a tactile manner are now as much as possible isolated from that same ground in an optical manner, and they also suffer the loss of their high and free projection as relief and fall back to the level of projection on the ground. Similarly, the individual parts (rips) of the leaf are not connected with one another in a tactile-optical manner (with the means of undulating projections of half-shadows) but they are separated

10) This relation of the leaf to the core thus expressed the abandonment of the ancient perception of the relief in architectural leaf decorations, it is represented, as far as I can see, for the first time unmistakably in the consoles of the central niche of the so-called Maxentius basilica on the Forum in Rome.

from one another and isolated in a purely optical manner through incisions which cast deep shadows. In this isolation of the individual shapes from the level ground we have already long ago recognized a leading principle of late Roman art <sup>11</sup>.

Looking at the side illustrated in fig. 2 we are led to other instructive observations. Here we see two leaves touching one another in a manner that in between them a part of the ground (level ground) has to remain free. First, the leaves are brought so close to one another that the ground is almost hidden. Secondly, they are brought with their pointed ends in such a connection that the remaining ground is divided into nothing but isolated and symmetrical compartments. The symmetrical configuration, which was always associated with the notion of an independent and enclosed individuality, and which now makes the ground articulated in such composition, gains on the one side the essentially artistic quality of the pattern (of the material individual shape) and is thus emancipated as pattern. A pattern, however, is never reduced, but rather projected and the natural consequence is a cunning negation of the ground. There no longer exists in accordance with the classical manner the relief pattern as a dominating force over the level ground, but pattern stands in competition with pattern: yet both remain on the plane (thus the common ancient trait is, again, valid).

It is as important to mention another consequence of the partial touch of the two adjacent acanthus leaves for these (the pattern). Looking at the side of the capital illustrated in fig. 2 one will see not an entire acanthus leaf, but two half-leaves; by touching one another closely and thus becoming a symmetrical composition of independent decorative (pattern) importance, first the half acanthus-leaves achieve an independence which was not due to their nature; secondly, they develop from here new ornamental compositions, which derived their prototypes even less than the individual half-leaves from nature. Hence is expressed a definite trend towards denaturalization, which should not surprise us in art with an explicit tendency toward isolation of all individual shapes (elimination of all causality from the sensory appearance). The usage of half acanthus-leaves (which our *Erfahrungsbewusstsein* is at first instigated to reconstruct as whole leaves) in connection with the infinite rapport, became, for East Roman art, the basis for the construction of a complete decorative system.

11) The same tendency to intentionally avoid parts appearing to be in connection, is revealed also with the suppression of a mediating molding between shaft and capital; again, this is one of the symptoms which we nowadays would be inclined to interpret as roughness, while the late Romans pursued it as an aesthetic intention. The prevailing avoidance of flutes on the shaft of columns corresponds again with the late Roman tendency toward massiveness and inarticulation of the outlines.

The division of the ground into individual compartments, which are not connected among one another, is a symptom of no less importance for the encompassingly domineering tendency of the *Kunstwollen* at that time. What preserved most emphatically the character of classical level ground was its connection with all parts, by which means it set itself apart as a motionless unit from no less coherent pattern (for example the tendril of a palmette or an acanthus). If the level ground was to lose in accordance with the leading principle of the late Roman *Kunstwollen*, this particular artistic character, then it had to be first of all deprived of its tactile connection: hence its division into a number of compartments. Nothing else happened to the level ground than we have already observed in the pattern (of the acanthus leaf) with its tips casting deep shadows: the isolation of the individual parts from one another. The tactile connection is everywhere – in the pattern as well as on the (pattern-like treated) ground – interrupted and destroyed in a most cunning manner. The individual parts no longer appear to be a bodily projection, but rather to be colorful planes; together with the confinements casting deep shadows they resolved in a colorful ensemble which in differentiation from the tactile (plastic) one and the tactile-optical (painterly) one we are used to calling coloristic.

Thus we got to know another basically important side of late Roman *Kunstwollen*. In order to comprehend right away this ancient colorism, it is recommended that we make a comparison with modern colorism. The latter makes the leading unifying tone originating in a space more or less filled with lines, or, inasmuch as a special source of light is present, it makes it communicate with the other individual objects through the medium of the space common to them all; consequently, either the light is dominating the shadow or, on the other side, light and shadow are standing as large contrasting masses in confrontation with one another. However, ancient colorism ignores space and adheres still firmly to rhythm, which itself is bound to the plane; while the unity of composition in classical art was based on linearism, it is now based on a rhythm of light and shadow, which, naturally, as the former did, still develops on the plane and not in the space (inaccessible to it). It is understandable that this ancient colorism creates for us a motionless flickering effect; yet it obviously filled the late Romans with the same sensation of harmony which we are experiencing from spatial colorism.

The treatment of the decoration in the late Roman capital, figs. 1 and 2, can be expressed with the following two principles: isolation of the entity of appearance by as massive as possible and inarticulate outlines, because any articulation would have meant connection with the ideal level-ground, which one indeed wanted to avoid; isolation of all parts, whether pattern or ground. This replaces an earlier tactile and clear



division between pattern and ground, with a coloristic correlation using light and dark in a rhythmic change.

The same principles are present in the marble capital, fig. 3, from S. Apollinare in Classe, though here the entire shape shows a more animated articulation and on the exterior a generally closer maintenance of the traditional shape of the Corinthian capital. However, the projecting leaves are collected as a puffed-up turban on the even surface of which the individual leaflets appear strictly isolated through the holes, which are vertically drilled and are thus casting deep shadows. Between the individual jagged leaflets no level ground exists, rather it is replaced by the shadowy, dark intermediate space. One can see here how this entire development was bound to lead to the recognition of (free, not cubically individualized) space; however, at first one tries to limit it, if possible, to the width of a line, because it still is considered to be no more than a necessary evil. It is only tolerated, because otherwise the now postulated, complete isolation that is the removal of the earlier tactile connection between pattern (relief figure) and ground (relief ground) could not be realized. The sharply jagged and deeply undercut shaping of individual parts of the leaflets in the acanthus, fig. 3, which in complete ignorance about the nature of all ancient artistic creations one wanted to trace back as a particular botanical species of acanthus is thus nothing else than the adequate medium of expression in late Roman *Kunstwollen* as one of its most important principles. Its historical predecessor during the earlier and the middle Empire was the so-called drill technique with circular drilled holes. Its origins go back to the time of the diadochs such as the drilled holes in fig. 3 which divide the large leaf tubers. Yet a remnant of tactile connection was still left. For that reason late Roman art directed toward the total isolation of the individual shapes widened the small circular holes into large jags full of expression. Well dated transitional elements which show in an equally prominent way the reminiscence of the simple manner of drilling as an inclination toward sharper isolation of the jags constitute the acanthus leaves forming the ends of the two consoles on the entablature at the porch of the so-called baptistery in Split (at the time of Diocletian) fig. 4<sup>12</sup>.

But why maintain all the vegetable ornament of the acanthus, which was created by classical art for the visualization of free tactile articula-

12) An excellent example of this type from the fourth century A.D. is a capital from Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome on the left, the fifth column counted from the rear. Here should also be mentioned the figurative capitals of each second column, to the left and right and counted from the rear in the same church and from the same period, because the treatment of the draperies and the ornament, as it can be seen here, constitutes a marvellous example of the colorostic style.

tion, the transformation of which into a coloristically appearing ground constituted such a difficult problem for late Roman art? Ancient art had indeed left other forms of ornaments which could more easily be adapted for the new function. Almost ready made for this was the Greek guilloche, where one had only to replace the simple circular portion of two ribbons through a large number in order to be able to cover not just narrow frames (as in antiquity), but also large planes. This step was done at least by the time of Justinian and was to become important for subsequent Byzantine development.

Fig. 5 shows a capital from San Vitale in Ravenna, which is obviously a work from an East Roman manufacturer as most other architectural marble sculpture of the time. The coloristic change from light to dark is here as regular as on a board of checkers; the artistic intention was eventually always directed toward the isolation of the ribbons in the third dimension. Hence one understands why, for example, in decorative miniature painting of the early Middle Ages, one finds roundly modelled circular little sticks and the like so frequently among the maeanders in perspective and in bird's-eye view (which according to monuments in the Terme Museum in Rome can be seen in the paintings of the Roman Empire). Indeed, the three-dimensionality of the pattern and its isolation from the ground was meant to be expressed in the painted ornament<sup>13</sup> without ambiguity. For the ornamental composition which filled the middle of each of the four sides of the capital (anticipating the cubic form) fig. 5, it should be noted that beside the projection on the plane and the vertical separation of the pattern from the ground, one should observe especially the exact manner by which the points of the leaves as well as the outer curved stems touch the border line in order to divide the ground in as small isolated compartments as possible and to avoid the joining of the ground as a larger uninterrupted and, therefore, seemingly tactile plane.

Another often used figurative rule of composition no less characteristic of the late Roman *Kunstwollen* is the infinite rapport, an example of which we saw in the half-leaves of the acanthus from the capital at Solona, figs. 1 and 2. It is based on the use of an ornamental motive consisting of two symmetrical halves (or several in an alternating series) as a disseminated pattern on the plane where, along the bordering frame

13) To this compare what was said in footnote 7. Now one can also understand why in late Roman reliefs and paintings trees, rocks, city-views and even human figures are seen so often in bird's-eye view: everywhere the three-dimensional isolation of the individual shape with the level ground was the dominating artistic *Leitmotiv* (leading motive).

of the entire composition always one half of the motive (in the corners always just one quarter) appears to be placed, hence the beholder is made to add in his imagination the missing half (or the  $3/4$ 's in his mind) and to continue the series on the plane infinitely. As an example for this there is illustrated in the middle of fig. 6, a purple, white, green and yellow embroidered border from a tunica-shroud found in Egypt (now in the Austrian Museum in Vienna). It has a complicated disseminated pattern, turning from larger flowery motives and forming, so to say, a netlike ground with small ornaments thus leading towards the mass composition; yet by dividing the large flowery motives and the net-like rhombs along the lateral borders in half it becomes a true representative for the nature of the infinite rapport<sup>14</sup>. First of all strikes here the appeal necessary for the supplementing intellectual experience, which during earlier periods of antiquity would have appeared to be improper to such a degree. Typically common antique is, however, the expansion on the plane, yet, typical late Roman the «dissemination pattern», that is the isolation of the motives from one another (and a natural complement to this is the break-up of the ground into partial planes, which are difficult to oversee) while the classical ornament used to search everywhere a connection – on one side between motives, on the other between the partial planes of the ground.

The definition of the infinite rapport as presented shows that it stands in closest relation with the late Roman colorism, because either one is based on the same *Kunstwollen*: directed toward a rich and minute rhythmic change between pattern and ground, light and dark on the plane – while suppressing, if possible, the importance of the pattern and light element and, accordingly, the emancipation of the importance of the ground and the dark.

The very beginnings of the infinite rapport we already recognize among the ancient Egyptians whose art generally seems externally to be closely related with the late Roman – a kind of relation which we will still have to investigate in more detail – but which under closer observation presents itself as exactly the opposite extreme. The infinite rapport among the Egyptians is confined to the geometric pattern (e.g. the board of checkers), which divided into halves can easily still be perceived as entities for themselves not relying on the supplemental help of the intellectual experience in order to be perceived. It offers, furthermore, patterns not disseminated but closely connected with one another (e.g. the

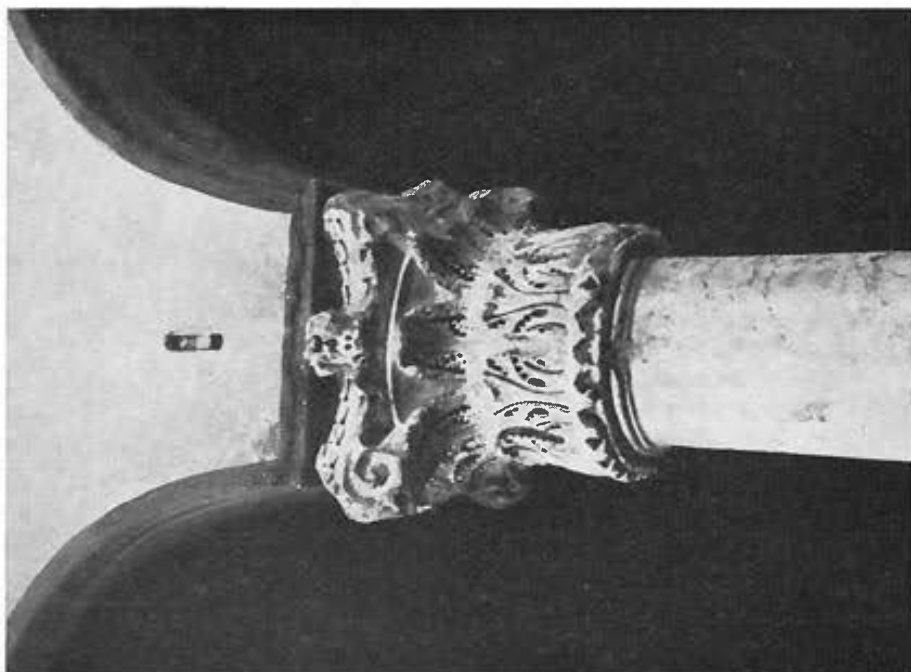
14) Since the flower motives follow a vertical direction, their quartering in the corners would not be possible as, for example, it would be possible for rosettes. The infinite rapport can, therefore, in these motives only be expressed through a division of the vertical.

spiral lines of the lotus blossoms, which fill the corners as they were also imitated by Mycenaean art). The characteristic of the infinite rapport in its most perfect form during late Roman art was based on one side on adaptation of organic motives (through which the appeal to experience seems necessarily to be made), on the other side on the disseminated pattern (through which there is effected the isolation of the individual motives and parts of the ground on the plane). This perception of the infinite rapport we find, as I demonstrated in the *Stilfragen*, p. 308, ff., at first very typical in the art of Pompei. Yet these first examples have still «unnaturalistic» motives and are still not entirely without a connection. During a more advanced phase we see this decorative system in the enamel of the third century (fig. 86). The border, fig. 6, finally constitutes such a perfect step in the development that we almost cannot date its origin earlier than the definite breakthrough of the late Roman *Kunstwollen* in the fifth century A.D.

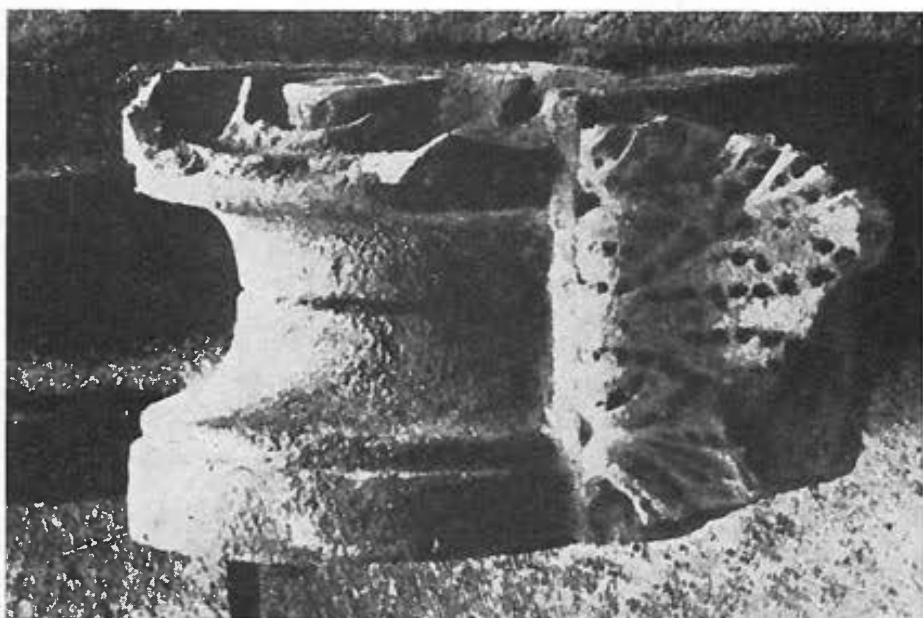
In the art of Islam the infinite rapport remains until today the most important law of composition: among many others, this is testimony that the Eastern Mediterranean people maintained essentially until the present day the elementary principles in the late antique culture. In the art of the West it was once in a while used as patterned ground in mass compositions, while significantly, the Near Eastern motives were, as a rule, imitated without alterations.



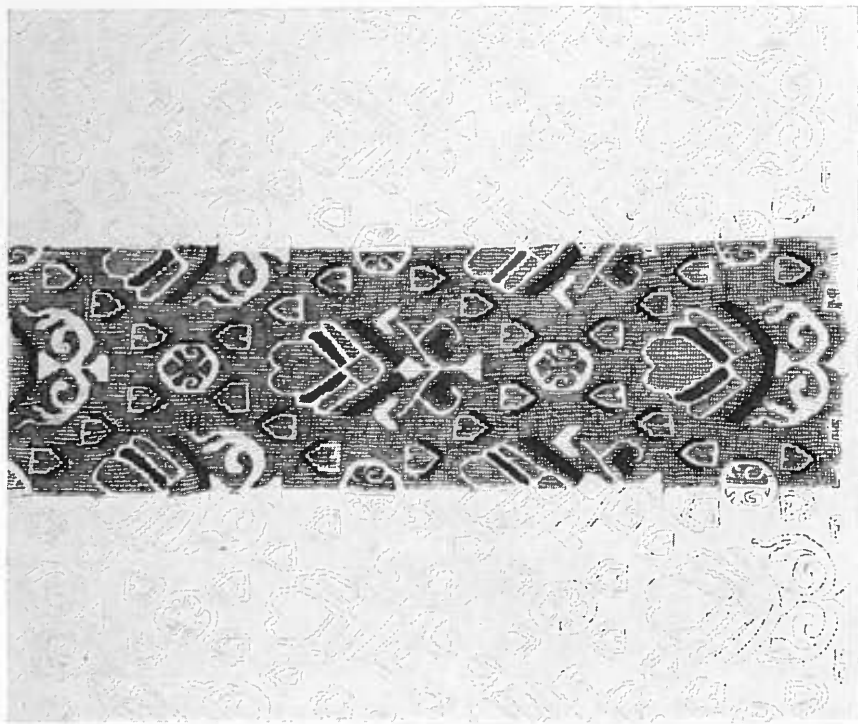




4 b



4 a



6



5



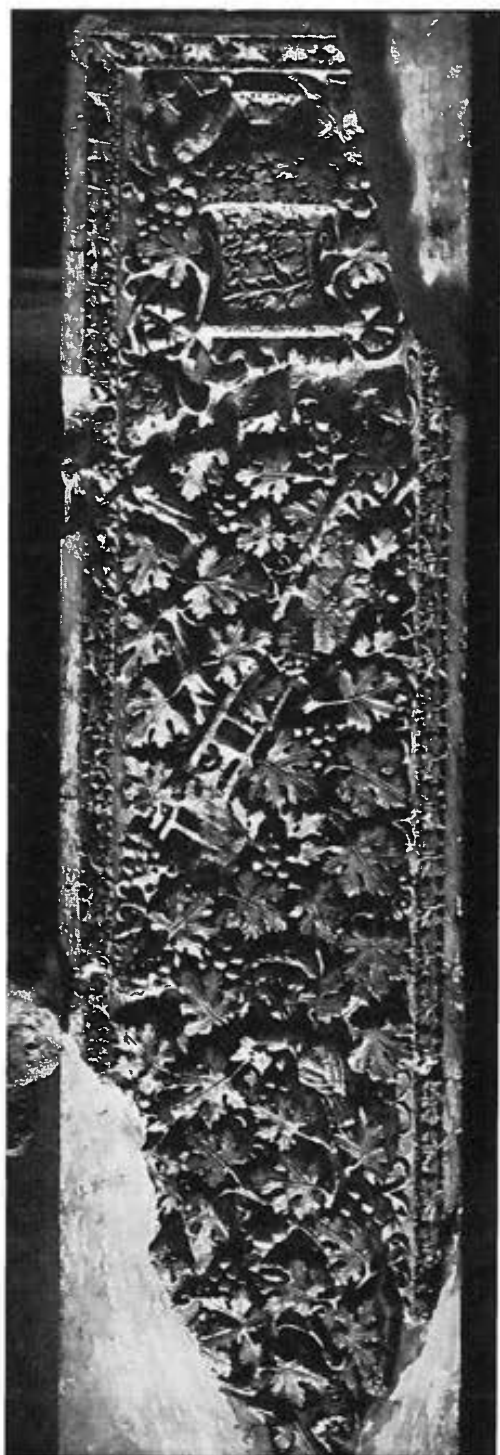




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10





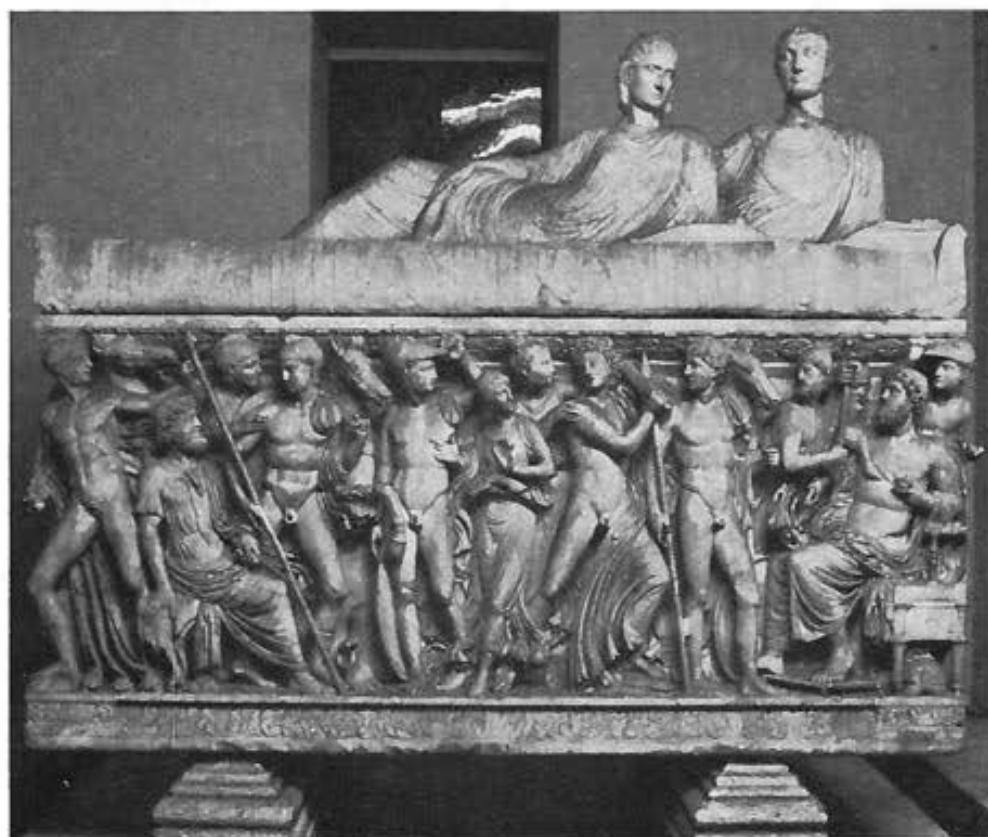
II a



II b



12



13

## II

### THE SCULPTURE

Discussion of late Roman sculpture should not be limited to the consideration of sculpture made from hard materials. Sculpture in soft and raw materials (clay and metal) probably never ceased to exist: at least during the first hundred years after Constantine there evidently originated several large bronze works (colossal portraits). Yet already during the fourth century A.D. works in stone and ivory constitute besides the others the overwhelming majority and this relation was later expanded. This cannot be accidental <sup>(16)</sup>. If we were to adhere to the previously preferred art theory, which interpreted style as a product of material factors and here especially raw material, then we have to assume that the late Romans lacked clay and metal, but had a surplus in marble and ivory, and were thus forced to give preference to the stone and chisel rather than the clay and the modelling. Our perception is the opposite: the conscious late Roman *Kunstwollen* must have been of a kind that expected to reach its aim in light and hard rather than in dark and soft raw materials. But the aim of the late Roman *Kunstwollen* which we have learned from the development in architecture, will be revealed even better by looking at the development in sculpture. We may define it here briefly as the isolation of the individual shape on the plane. This isolation, which considered naturally first of all the outlines, could be achieved better in hard and light rather than soft and dark raw materials, which have a natural inclination to fade into their neighboring environment.

Our investigation of late Roman architecture was done on the basis of the generally known types without an analysis of the individual monuments. By no means are the conditions so favorable in the field of the «imitating» arts: sculpture and painting. Dated *Bildwerke* from late Roman times are still little known and the few existing ones have received little attention. A thorough analysis of style has not yet been attempted with even one of them. As already emphasized in the introduction, late Roman art alienates our modern feeling more than any other art. If architecture appears to be exceptional here then this is based on the indestructible

remnants of eternal and general laws for form in this particular medium bound to the material and the function. This evokes even in the modern beholder, particularly when entering the early christian basilica, related sensations. Also to be explained are the modern imitations of early christian basilicas (e.g. Klenze's building in Munich). Toward the enclosed Byzantine interior space our time appears to have been much more reserved (time, the basic tendency of which finds, after disintegration of all forms in infinite space, especially in architecture, very little satisfaction); in the recent period of the modern «historic style» imitated early christian diptychs or book-illuminations are not known. In order to learn about the artistic intention of the late Roman sculpture, its historic place, origin and importance, we must investigate individual monuments. At the beginning, we choose a monument which can, on one hand, be dated firmly and, on the other, belongs to the time when old pagan antiquity had passed and the new late Roman christianity was already obvious. These are the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine in Rome executed between 313 and 315 A.D. The side located toward the city (fig. 7) with the representation of the imperial distribution of monies will now be analyzed stylistically.

The relief in fig. 7 is illustrated with both sides slightly abbreviated; the missing parts carry basically the same organization into two registers above one another with the same group of four figures each in the upper register and a row of supplicants in the lower, which we can see in the two wings represented in fig. 7. A careful publication of these Constantinian reliefs has been an urgent need for a long time in art historical research.

A brief look at the relief shows that the artist saw his responsibility to be the making of an individual unit with a centralized composition on the plane; we have here still an ancient plane composition and not a modern space composition. The symmetrical centralization, which can only be achieved on the plane, appears here to be brought to its peak. The enthroned figure of the emperor in the center attracts the view immediately; indeed, the first superficial impression, prior to all detailed analysis shows convincingly that the entire composition was painstakingly designed to bring the beholder's attention to the center. The emperor who appears here enthroned on a high socle and turned en face to the beholder, assumes thus the most favored position for a symmetrical view of the whole human body; his torso (and probably also the head, unfortunately cut off), remains in a perpendicular position, recalling Lange's law of mortality among the ancient Egyptians, which coincides exactly with it; arms and feet diverge slightly to the outside. This strictly symmetrical composition presents the central figure as an image of rigid unchangeable immobility. This domineering position is furthermore emphasized through the fact



that it occupies the entire height of the relief thanks to the imposing figure of the emperor and the high socle under the throne, while the other figures are distributed over two levels in symmetrical correspondence. Differing from the central figure (with the exception of some figures standing at a distance on the right hand side), all the other figures are about to make definite movements toward the center by turning the head as well as the raised arm in acclamation to the emperor while the artist was able at least to add some variety to the uniform gestures. A certain exception is found in the two groups of four figures each, which are in the upper register near the corners; they do not take part in the acclamation and constitute for themselves a symmetrical composition. They are, however, at the same time standing in strict correspondence with one another and thus, again, brought into dependence from the all-domineering central figure of the emperor.

While the entity appears to be projected on one plane with painstaking precision, the individual figures strive toward spatial isolation from the common plane. The outlines of the figures are all deeply undercut so that they appear nowhere visibly connected with the ground. In the upper rank there are two rows of figures arranged behind one another and isolated from one another at least as sharply. This is a decisive point wherein the Constantinian differ from the ancient Oriental and classical reliefs; during the earlier Empire it was still inviolable law for any relief to maintain an obvious tactile connection whether directly or through intermediate figures. The common plane consequently now loses its formal tactile connection and falls apart into a series of light figures and dark spatial shadows in between them, which all together evoke through their irregular change a coloristic impression. Yet the impression continues to be the one of a symmetrically designed plane; but now it is no longer a tactile plane, which is either entirely uninterrupted or just slightly obscured through half-shadows, but rather an optical plane like the one where all objects appear to our eye from the *Fernsicht*. Between the visible foreground-plane of the figures and the ground is a free sphere of space, so to say, a niche, inserted just deep enough to let the figures appear in it. They are space-filling and surrounded by space and, for that reason, still close to the plane.

Exactly the same relation as between the entire relief and the figures is sought to exist between a whole individual figure and its parts (this can be the extremities or also the drapery). Yet a strict centralization was possible just for the central figure; in all the other figures it could come close and was expressed as much as possible with simple, straight, inarticulated and unrhythmic, hence harsh, yet clear outlines of figures spread broadly on the plane. However, the individual parts of the figures are separated from one another through grooves casting deep shadows,



which is very obvious in the treatment of hair and drapery. As the figures to the whole, so also the extremities and the draperies do not have a tactile connection with the figures, but are optically isolated from one another. The individual figures present themselves as cubic bodies, filling space, and as such they have consequently to be surrounded by free space, that is to be framed by complimentary shadows; but this did not mean at all that free space as an artistic factor of its own right was recognized besides the material individuals (figures). This can already be concluded from the assiduity by which the figures are pressed on a single common plane and by which the separating spatial shadows are confined to the absolute minimum.

The analysis of the Constantinian reliefs represents consequently full proof that relief sculpture at the beginning of the late Roman period followed exactly the same leading law as we established for the development of contemporary architecture. Among the other reliefs from the triumphal arch under discussion there comes closest to fig. 7 the representation of Constantine addressing the people; the subject of the other reliefs (mostly war scenes) demanded that the figures move in one way; a strict centralization as we could observe it in fig. 7 was not possible here. Therefore, symmetry was in such cases predominantly sought through a series, even though one cannot fail to recognize also a tendency toward a centralized condensation into the symmetry of the contrast.

The aesthetic evaluation of the Constantinian relief was generally not disputed, because it was universally agreed that these reliefs were a prime witness for the deepest decline in ancient art. Among the most lenient apologies were that the Arch of Constantine had been built in great haste as evident by the reuse of particular reliefs from earlier monuments. The main proponents of this opinion will be surprised to see that in different works very particular and positive principles of style, as just demonstrated, are followed meticulously. Yet these principles of style are not the ones of classical art; and because so far one approached the evaluation of the reliefs under discussion just with the yardstick of classical antiquity the judgment had to be disdainful. It will be our responsibility to show the existing difference between either principle of style in its true nature, even though at this point just in very general traits. One always thought that the Constantinian reliefs were lacking exactly what belonged specifically to the classical reliefs. That is the beautiful animation. The figures would be on one side ugly and on the other clumsy and motionless. Thus it seemed to be justifiable to declare them if not as works from the hands of barbarians at least from those of barbarized craftsmen. As far as beauty goes we indeed miss the proportion which compares every part according to size and motion with its

neighboring part and the whole; in its place we have, however, found another form of beauty which is expressed in the strictest symmetrical composition and which we might call crystalline, because it constitutes the first and eternal principal form for the inanimated raw material and because it comes comparatively closest to absolute beauty (material individuality). This however can only be imagined. Barbarians would have represented the proportional principle of the beauty coming down from classical art with misunderstood and cruder expressions. The creators of the Constantinian reliefs have replaced it through another and have thus demonstrated independent *Kunstwollen*. Yet this highest principle of beauty is not animated. On the other sides the figures of these reliefs are by no means lacking animation; yet this is not dependent on the tactile modelling of the connections between the extremities (joints) and generally not on a *tactile-normalsichtig* modelling of nudity and drapery, but rather on the lively contrast between light and dark, the effect of which presents itself particularly in a *fernsichtig* observation. Hence, even extreme animation does, indeed, exist (one should just look at the irregular, sketchy treatment of the drapery folds), because it is based on momentary optical impression. It is not beautiful (according to classical terms which means based on the tactile modelling in half shadows). Already these brief general hints show that the Constantinian reliefs strive like any other creation in the visual arts for the beautiful and the naturalistic element. This was as much intended and actually reached as it had been in classical art. While they were in the latter united to a harmonic balance (the beautiful animation), they now again moved away to their extreme points; on one hand, the highest principle of beauty in the strictest form of crystallization, on the other, the naturalistic rendering in the extreme form of the momentary optical effect.

The negative judgment about the artistic value of the Constantinian reliefs could not have been as universally possible if it had been made only from the viewpoint of classical antiquity and not also based on our own modern inclination of taste. To investigate the question as to what might combine in the aforementioned respect the principal aims of classical and modern art, which are generally so far apart, will be given ample opportunity. First we have to determine what element in the relief discussed here appears repulsive to the beholder, even if he disregards entirely a comparison with classical works. On one hand, this is the intentional symmetrical composition of the plane and the rigid crystalline rule, which even for ceremonial scenes, appear to us solemn and inanimated. Furthermore, the disparity among the figures, who, beginning with the emperor in the center, decrease gradually in height toward the ends. Yet we would basically understand all of this, because we see in it at least the strict obe-

dience of a principle and this is sufficient to create already the desired impression of unity. For what appears to us utterly crude and inartistic, is the relation between the figures and space: the outlines of the figures as a whole appear harsh and inanimated as well as the modelling of the parts: the hands, heads, the folds of drapery.

Indeed, we have seen above, that the Constantian artist, by no means chose this organization out of negligence and crudeness, but based his choice on an entirely positive artistic intention in order to separate figures sharply distinguished in space from one and parts of figures, and in order to evoke at the same time the optical impression of a rhythmic change between light and dark. When we modern beholders are not satisfied by the result of such intention as present in the reliefs, this must be even more startling if we recall that our own most recent art, similar to late Roman, is essentially based on an optical perception, particularly on a most momentary colored impression. The Constantinian *Kunstwollen* appears accordingly virtually identical with our very modern; nonetheless, its works stir in us exactly the opposite in regard to artistic satisfaction! Repulsive for the modern taste is nothing more than the relation to space as we observed it, which separates the shapes harshly from one another rather than connecting them with one another as generally all modern art intends to do. The figures as well as their parts set themselves sharply apart from the dark space, while we expect from them a melting with the environment, that is a transition into atmosphere. Constantinian art strives as all antiquity did, still for the pure material individual shape: by separating this shape now also in depth, it needs space; using thus the same artistic means as we do, yet for opposite purposes, it makes us even more aware of the distance between the late antique and generally between all antique *Kunstwollen* and our present one. Yet we use the contrast between light and dark with a coloristic intention; but these color values constitute then the main theme to which are subjected all represented bodily shapes, which are connected with one another, while in ancient art they were attributed a minor serving role, which, as before, separated material individual shapes, the main theme, from one another. It is therefore completely justified from the subjective viewpoint of modern taste if one declares the Constantinian reliefs to be crude; and no less could one object, if somebody with a (no less objective) viewpoint of classical antiquity would characterize the development as presented through these reliefs as a decline. However, the art historian whose aim is objectivity will have to admit that Constantinian art (and late Roman art generally) with its coloristic perception of the individual shapes in the absolute unity of the depth was a necessary last transitional phase in ancient art. It made way for a new artistic perception mediating between objects and space, and freeing, in fact,

space per se, even though at first just through a forced consideration of space. Anybody, who considers the early christian basilica and Byzantine *Raumkunst* as the unavoidable connecting elements between ancient architecture, hostile to space, and modern architecture, which is space searching, has also to concede the same mediating importance for late Roman relief (and painting, as maybe stated in advance). The analysis now bestowed has shown us the principles of the *Kunstwollen*, which at the beginning of the Constantinian time dominates relief. One may presuppose the validity of the same principles for contemporary sculpture as well and apply the result, gained through an investigation of the reliefs, to all sculpture from the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Yet a strict proof cannot be given, because firmly dated sculpture in the round is missing entirely around 315 A.D. Indeed, there exist a number of statues and portrait-heads, which with greatest probability can be claimed for the emperor Constantine the Great and his sons, the analysis of which constitutes the same mentioned result as will be demonstrated; yet since these remain always, however well argued, only assumptions as basis for attribution, we are at present content with results derived from the investigation of the reliefs from the triumphal arch, which are dated beyond any doubt.

Having thus established at least for the relief of the late Roman period a firm start for the development, we will now follow the process of this development during the entire late Roman period, as far as the preserved monuments permit us to do. If we would like to undertake this investigation right away, we would have to do it with the depressing awareness of dealing with a phenomenon that is interrupted and the beginnings of which we do not know. Our hitherto-made investigation has shown that the character of the Constantinian reliefs is not based on a whimsical factor, or the hitherto generally suspected influence by the barbarians, but on firm positive principles of style; yet on the other side, it cannot be denied that these principles of style were in the central points different from those which dominated during the classical period.

How was this change made possible? Does any bridge lead back from Constantinian to classical art?

As long as these questions are not answered satisfactorily Constantinian art must, in spite of our insight into its inner principles, have for us a last remnant of troubling lack of clarity; we may on the other side hope to receive with an enlightenment about the origin of this art an immediate and directed outlook toward the future process of development during the late Roman period. Such considerations will be justified, if we try to clarify first of all the historical relation between Constantinian and all

earlier ancient relief<sup>15</sup>, particularly of the middle Roman Empire immediately preceding.

The oldest relief known to us – the Egyptian – intended on one side a sharp extraction of the individual from the universe, on the other side a balance and connection with the plane. Both requirements conditioned one another: indeed, each partial overlapping between two or several individuals destroyed the tactile impression of absolute planes, and each stronger projection jeopardized, on the other side, the impression of enclosed individuality. The Egyptian relief created, therefore, the height and width as sharply and unmisunderstandably as possible limited tactile planes, but as close to the plane as possible and, therefore, if at all possible by excluding any obvious expansion of depth, space or shadow. Among the relations of the parts between one another and between the whole, ancient Egyptian art considers principally just height and width (relations of the plane), but not depth (relation of space).

Ancient Egyptian art has thus, at least according to its intention, only a composition on the plane, while compositions in space are obviously very much avoided. We have already observed this tendency in Egyptian architecture at an earlier place; in the least misunderstanding manner it is expressed in painting, because here creation takes a natural place on the plane alone. Although the figures are here sharply outlined, they are within their contours (with the exception of the indication of eyes, hair, mouth, and clothes to which just exceptionally are added other deviations of the principles) almost not at all modelled, but just filled with color, which with its unifying uninterrupted expansion across as wide planes as possible (polychromy) increases essentially the isolating effect of the outlines. Hence the figures stand out in strict clarity from the ground; this ground is not space (even not an ideal one) such as in modern art, but tactile matter appearing as absolute plane without depth, the typical Egyptian ideal. The ground is the separating wall, which simply cuts off all annoying space behind the evident surface of the figure.

15) Since in a relief the touchable material is predominant this type of art serves better the representation of figures on the plane than figures in space which is achieved more successfully in painting; the immaterial color is able to lead the eye of the beholder better into deep space than chisel – or cut work does – the hard materiality of which limits even the freest imagination. The *Kunstwollen* of antiquity, which was principally directed towards the composition of figures on the visual plane, can be seen very immediately and clearly in works of relief art; and since also the differences between the individual periods in the art of antiquity can be best demonstrated in relief, it is sufficiently explained here why an investigation of ancient relief art serves as the basis for a survey of the development of art in antiquity generally.

This factual relation is expressed most clearly in the hollow relief, where the ground is projected higher and appears hence as the more important element; the extraction of the individual shape from the material and primordial plane was never again visualized in an as striking and immediately convincing manner. The relief figures are kept conceivably flat so that as few shadows as possible can be perceived; they must, therefore, be appreciated in *Nahsicht*, because the surface appears from a greater distance duller and flatter. The same intention appears finally in the round figure; here depth could no longer be excluded in spite of the pillar frequently attached to the back, but it draws as little attention as possible from the beholder; particularly immediate frontal parts of the figures (chest) appear often to be completely flattened.

Regarding the Egyptian composition on the plane it is sufficient to recall the manner by which the human figure is represented on the relief (and also in painting). The head appears in profile, with the visible eye being placed to look straight ahead, the chest and the two shoulders with the arms are visible in front, while from the belly on downward begins a distortion into the profile, which is kept fully by the moving legs. This strangely contorted position can be explained in no other way than with the effort to show the entire body in as clear completeness as possible and in order to avoid as much as possible any indication of depth, which is any foreshortening of the outlines. Relations of individual parts of the body as they usually present themselves to the eye, are in the Egyptian relief observed in their general shape, but just inasmuch as they coincided with the principal avoidance of depth and shadows. Entirely naturalistic are the relations on the plane; space relations are avoided, or, as far as they had to be considered, they are (as can be learned particularly from those mentioned contortions) cunningly transformed into relations on the plane. In this respect our present day expectations are contrary to the intent of the Egyptians.

To the plane relations – perceivable in height and width – between the parts and the whole for objects as well as in the human body belong also the relations of scale or proportion. However, the observations of space relations (e.g. foreshortening) obliterate them. Thus is explained that ancient Egyptian art principally went after the representation of proportions. In the extremities of the human figures they found an average as is still present in the Egyptian fellah. The artistic means for the representation of the proportional individual shape was for them (besides the color used in polychromy) the outline, and through this the Egyptians expressed a principal strife in all visual arts towards unity and clarity in comparison to the multitude of proportional relations. The line was drawn completely straight, whenever possible in an explicit tendency toward a crystalline

and regulated composition, and where deviation from the straight line was unavoidable, they are rendered in as mathematically correct a curve as possible.

The «beauty» of the Egyptian works of art lies in the strict proportionality of the parts and in their unified control through unarticulated and uninterrupted and, when necessary, regularly curved outlines.

It is obvious that the isolation of the individual figures connected to the plane, as it was principally intended by the Egyptians, could not be done with absolute strictness. Indeed, the principle of composition was that of a symmetrical sequence, which presented the figures as connected with the plane, balanced, and, at the same time, isolated from one another; however, the slightest necessity to bring two figures into a closer and more evident relation to one another had to lead to an interruption of the principle of the sequence. Here emerged a contrast and, therefore, a problem: the connection of the individual shapes not just with the plane (which was already the aim of ancient Egyptian art) but with one another.

No less clear, furthermore, is that space relations – foreshortenings and overlaps, shadows – could not all possibly be suppressed as soon as plane relations were admitted. The head in profile, for example, has a foreshortening from the temples to the ridge of the nose, on the belly one sees another going from the hips to the navel. Overlaps could not be avoided in the striding human figure in the more distant part of the background leg; the same is true almost for the slightest attempt to bring the arms into action. The suppression of space in Egyptian art meant thus another latent contradiction, in which, again, was contained a problem for reconciliation and thus the seed for future development. In spite of a few attempts, which are interesting for their history of art, the Egyptians did not get beyond the relations on the plane and the reciprocal isolation of the individual figures.

Responsible for the reconciliation of the two mentioned latent contradictions were, besides the Semites, particularly the Greeks – yet, not without provoking new contradictions, the reconciliation of which they left as a problem for the Romano-Germanic peoples.

This quick survey meant to enumerate only the main points of development, has no room either for description of the dissolution of the ancient Near Eastern perception among the Semites (particularly among the Syrians) or for a discussion of Mycenaean and early Greek art; just so much seems necessary (to be explained in detail elsewhere) to be pointed out that the Mycenaean monuments show the rise of a *Kunstwollen* diametrically opposed to the ancient Near Eastern like the Vapheio cups, which anticipate not only a post-classical, but even a post-antique perception. The balancing connection between the ancient Near Eastern

and the other (presumably specific Indo-Germanic) perception was the basis for Greek art.

The great achievement of Greek art was the emancipation of space relations: projections and recessions and as their artistic consequence overlap, foreshortening, and shadows. The limit imposed for Greek art was its search for a solution of the aforementioned responsibility in the individual shape alone without a consideration of the free space in between. Thus it eventually reached the recognition of a kind of space which was cubically enclosed in all three dimensions, but not the one of free space. Even when space forced its way into ancient art, it was never considered to be the main theme with figures in it which were adapted and subordinated. Rather the figures always remained the main thing and free space was just a necessary evil, mainly complementary for the visualization of the cubic spatiality of the figures. Exactly like Egyptian art, Greek art had consequently and constantly to strive in order to remove any notion of deep space behind the evident surface of the individual shape. Therefore, in relief (and in painting) Greek antiquity always kept the plane ground as last absolute, clear support for spatial movements, as the calming symbol of tactile materiality to which the eye always desires to return. Just this alone permits the conclusion that the entire Greek antiquity (as the preceding ancient Near Eastern) searched for the standard of artistic formation through plane composition. Progress compared to the Egyptian was mainly reached in that the individual shapes (figures) through their contrast with the plane ground alone continued to be clearly limited in height and width, but at the same time, were no longer only placed in connection with the ground level, but also with one another: their relation with the level ground was achieved by having the figures appear to rise from it; their relation with one another from letting individual extremities of adjacent figures enter into planimetric relations. While among the Egyptians the principle of plane composition was a series of equally outlined isolated figures, it became among the Greeks the symmetrically built-up contrast of the figures inclining towards one another, which through an interlock of parts experienced a climax in the direction of the contrapposto. Reduced to geometric schemes the Egyptian plane composition is a sum of parallelograms (vertical and horizontal), the Greek one of interlocked isosceles triangles (diagonals).

The consideration of spatial relations led, furthermore, to the consequence that human figures, as they appear on the plane, no longer show the distortions of the Egyptians, but rise usually in a three-quarter view from the ground, a kind of direction which is also maintained by the head: the figures have so to say an inner ability to free themselves from the flat ground toward free space without their actually doing so. In this



respect the figures are usually represented in a lively motion in order to achieve a rich articulation (for the contrapposto connection of the plane composition). However, this is intended only as an articulation on the plane (height and width) and not in space (depth). As E. Löwy already observed, the figures are, until the end of the classical period (Praxiteles) in relief as well as in sculpture in the round (the latter follows indeed the same *Kunstwollen* just as generally there does not exist a «relief style», which would just be characteristic for the relief) in a more or less evident and forced manner moving from the right or from the left but not toward the beholder or away from him.

Besides the composition on the plane there appears now also a first and small inclination toward spatial composition in that Greek art aimed from the very beginning toward a stronger emphasis in spatial relations than the slightly raised Egyptian relief permitted. Therefore, the classical relief arrives at stronger projections (and recessions) in that the level ground is curved in a bolder manner than the Egyptians would have liked it to be; but in all this the intention of the classical spatial composition (as basically also the one of Egyptian art was) is always principally directed toward a transformation of spatial relations into plane relations. In place of a single plane among the Egyptians there are now a number of partial planes; since they project reciprocally against one another, each of them is outlined by a shadow indicating the projection.

With these shadows an element not exclusively tactile, but purely optical, which was usually suppressed by the Egyptians with great effort, now found legitimate acceptance among the visual arts. Yet the shadow has first to fulfill a purely tactile function: to border the partial planes projecting against one another. In this respect the edges of the projections are low at sharp angles, the shadow is consequently a narrow (often almost linear) one, and therefore especially qualified for a limiting function. For example the muscles of the human body appear in classical sculpture as very narrow curved planes which are framed by shadows as if framed by equal heights. However, the shadows were never cast so deep (colorful, purely optical) that they would no longer show among one another the tactile connection of the planes projecting above one another: thus the shadows fulfill besides their limiting isolating function also a connecting one.

The open admittance of space relations, the curved plane and, particularly, the shadow had as their result that Greek art could not maintain, as Egyptian had done, the principle of completion of individual shapes as materially expressed through the mind's eye of experience. These shadows were not so deep that they would be only optically effective and not tactily controllable, which means that one did not just have to guess what these shadows would hide, but one was always able to see their

ground. Even in classical drapery the eye is only attracted by the spotlighted ridges of the folds and considers the shadowy hollows in between just as necessary compliments – in direct opposition to the Constantinian reliefs, in the draped figures of which the eye perceives primarily the folds separating dark stripes and considers the light parts of the folds in between as the obvious compliment.

In Greek art, the appeal to experience in the perception of a work of art, becomes strikingly obvious in the relation to the extremities in individual human figures. It opposes the manner of the Egyptians. For the sake of material clarity the Egyptians had the extremities composed with such contortions on the plane as one would have never seen in reality. As already mentioned the Greeks gave up these contortions by leaving the space relations partially free and by admitting unavoidable overlaps and foreshortenings. Thus the figures became subjectively correct, but objectively less clear. The immediately visible evidence of materiality as well as the relation of the position and the proportion of the extremities to one another was infringed, and what was lost had to be replaced with intellectual experience. Because our modern art appeals also to a high degree to experience (and is even in danger to see the material deformed through the conceptual) it is understandable that we prefer the subjective perception of the Greek over the objective one of the Egyptians<sup>16</sup>.

16) That since ancient Egyptian art a progressive development took place we do not only wish to deny, but, to the contrary, wish to demonstrate it where it was hitherto contested; on the contrary, one has to forfeit the realization that this development would have been one of (technical) ability while, in fact, it has been one of *Wollen*. An objective art historical observation will in each period of style (as this was done in regard to the Egyptian one) discover some kind of advantage, which later periods lacked, because their *Wollen* was directed to another part. In a purely technical ability, which means in the conquering of raw materials, the Egyptians were, by the way, superior to all their successors until the present day; ever since the development was elsewhere generally directed toward the limitation of technical diversity. The tendency of the Egyptians toward potential objective and pure visual appearance in a work of art explains also the remarkable fact that the works of sculpture which came down from them cannot be divided into «good» and «bad» ones, because they demonstrate everywhere a certain degree of stylistic perfection. Yet, one could not go so far as to state that every Egyptian of the time of the pharaohs was born an artist or that all the artists would have been equally talented; but the fact cannot be overlooked that a «crude» work of art did not exist among those people. The reason for this, as already indicated, must have been the firm objective rule according to which every Egyptian artist worked painstakingly suppressing any subjective infiltration. The diametrical opposition to this constitutes our modern art of so-called individualism, where each artist creates painstakingly in accordance with his subjective ideals which leads to the result that there cannot be made a work of art which would be considered by all, or at least, by the larger part of the public, as

Further intensification of Greek ancient *Kunstabsicht* toward a connection of the individual shapes among one another took place during the hellenistic period. This meant an increasing isolation of itself in relation to the plane and at the same time an unavoidable emancipation of the space relations. The eye now desires stronger alterations in depths, particularly higher projections. In the figures as a whole this tendency is shown in the manner in which they start to move from the ideal ground level no longer just to the right or left (on the plane), but also forward and backwards (into depths). In the shaping of details among the individual figures this same tendency is revealed through a decisive transition towards the high relief; the muscles of the nude human figures, for example, are now highly modelled, replacing low transitions of the classical period with higher projections. The isolation of partial planes on the level plane through a system of limiting equal heights is thus maintained: also not infringed is the clear tactile connection between the harsh partial planes, because high but smoothly inclined projections now create broader but nonetheless equal shadows (half shadows) which make possible a continuous tactile control. At the same time the eye desires to see also more than before an alteration in depth next to one another. It is, for that reason, satisfied with an accordingly lesser degree of level ground; thus the classical balance between the plane and space is disturbed in favor of an increasingly growing prevalence of the latter. In the individual figure this spatial tendency is obvious, for example, in an increase of muscle projections revealed through clustering half shadows, as is the case already in the work of Lysippus and climaxed by such works as the Hercules Farnese. While a cross section of the torso in the height of the chest was formerly almost rectangular, «the figuræ quadratæ» in the famous paragraph of Pliny concerning Lysippus, it now becomes almost circular. Among compositions with several figures, the figures are either moved closer to one another or interlocked through reciprocal overlaps (large frieze of Pergamon) or in the case where clustered overlaps of figures were not appropriate for the content of the representation, non-figurative motives (from the outdoors or interior space) are placed behind the figures in order to increase the number of projections from the level ground. The latter created the background.

One could be tempted to think that the rise of the back-ground in ancient art would have meant an abrupt break with all preceding development; it must be such a surprise to see now between the individual art form and the level ground a third element inserted. But a break would

«good» and that especially the most celebrated works of art have found the most vehement opposition.

exist if the perception of background in post-Alexandrian art of the Greeks would coincide with our modern art. We are, indeed for understandable reasons, inclined to transfer to the ancient background the meaning which is given to it in modern art: to be a section out of infinite space. Yet it is necessary to make clear that the ancient background still did not want to express anything but what all preceding ancient figurative art wanted to: to be a series of finished material individual shapes or, if one so wants, a section from the infinite plane. However, from the mathematical point of view, the term plane can here no longer be kept: the same was already the case with Egyptian art, for example, when the arms of two represented human figures were crossed, because in that case necessarily one figure had to occupy the foreground (foreground plane) and the other the background (the background plane). Yet Near Eastern and also still Greek art until its classical phase always tried to hide the existence of two different planes whenever possible: hellenistic art, however, – and this is the innovation – admitted openly the existence of two planes. From here the modern beholder deduces that between the two planes space has to be imagined: and thus space seems in fact to be introduced into ancient art. Yet everything depends on the understanding of the role which was now attributed to space. Not free space as such was meant to be represented – because any connecting middle ground between the front and the rear is missing – rather just cubic space occupied by the figures in front was meant to be alluded to. It is thus exactly the same degree of emancipation of space which we saw reached architecturally in the Pantheon. Here we may recall that although no monuments came down to us, the written accounts (about the Serapeion, Marneion) justify our assumption that Greek architecture already during the time of the diadochs had advanced towards creation of space via the centralized building. The background had thus in hellenistic relief by no means the modern function to connect the frontal figures with the infinite depths of space, but just to separate them more sharply from the level ground: only an additional step within the common ancient process of making the individual shape gradually three-dimensionally spacious. Beside this phenomenon the level plane of the ground is still kept as last refuge for the eye looking at art; consequently, the outlines of the objects in front and in the rear, in spite of the two planes, had to be brought to one composition on the plane which, as a unity of the pattern, opposed the unity of the level ground. For the same reason one could not yet arrive at that time to the explicit mass composition, even though with the rise of the background a first and pioneering initiative for it was present. In this respect it is no less important that the background never constituted human figures, but always only a wall of motionless motives (buildings, trees); yet where several persons were placed behind

one another (whiche begins to occur frequently at the end of the pre-christian era), they were presented as a crowd, that is in a possibly uninterrupted tactile connection. Therefore, everywhere one sees a principal negation of free deep space, yet a diligent demonstration of cubic spatiality of the individuals; as its consequence one finds a sharper separation of the individuals from the level ground, that is a loosening of the hitherto strict adherence to a tactile connection of all parts of an individual shape with it as a whole and of all figures with the level ground<sup>17</sup>. How far this process of loosening advanced in hellenistic art is nowadays still debated<sup>18</sup>. It seems that even the last and decisive step, that is the determined transition from the tactile optical to the purely optical perception, was already taken in the last century B.C.; but we see all the consequences of this step surface clearly just after the birth of Christ, for which reason we have to save the discussion at this point for a later place.

The next step in the development is represented by art of the early Roman Empire (from Augustus until the Antonines). According to the deliberations of F. Wickhoff, who in his publication of the *Vienna Genesis* achieved a real insight into the true nature of this artistic period, it was characteristic that the optical perception now became the basis for the representation of objects in the visual arts.

One ceased to bring into the immediate sight of the beholder the prejections, which are seen in half-shadows, but are clearly plane-like, and one is satisfied to indicate for the beholder by casting deeper shadows the existence of projections. It is no longer possible to see the ground of

17) Nothing is more instructive for the one who wants to compare the ultimate aims of ancient and modern art than the perception that the increased concern with space relations, which seems to come close to the desire of modern art, did not bring ancient art closer but rather, alienated it, because the hellenistic works are obviously less appreciated by us than the classical. The reason for this remarkable phenomenon can only be that particularly the introduction of the background brought to the modern beholder the awareness of the conflict between his own and the ancient perception concerning the function of space in the visual arts. For the same reason, the modern eye is more sensitive to the exaggerated muscle accumulation in nude figures than to the unpretentious plane-like pre-Lysippian bodies. It is in either case the tactile character which we modern men consider to be incompatible with the observation of space relations.

18) In this regard are sharply opposed the opinions of T.H. Schreiber, whom we thank for such essential insights concerning the history of Alexandrian art, and F. Wickhoff, the discoverer of Julio-Flavian-Trajanic art. In my view, both opinions can be combined in that on one side one may consider with Schreiber the art of the early Roman Empire as a normal continuation of Greek art from the time of the diadochs, and on the other side one may admit with Wickhoff the full degree of an increasingly positive development, which distinguishes early Roman imperial art from hellenistic.

the shadows; these are no longer the tactile planes partially in shadow, which we perceive, but they are evidently all shadowy, dark (colorful) phenomena, which at first evoke only an optical impression in the beholder, and only via the detour of experience (reflection) they give knowledge about the existence of a tactile ground and a touchable, plane-like projection. This transition from the tactile to the optical perception led immediately to two kinds of important consequences: 1. the decline of the relief, which now, in opposition to the tendency of swelling as occurred from the Egyptian to the Augustan periods, takes on a consequent retrograde motion until it reached, during the late Roman period, its deepest point, one of the most convincing arguments for the genetic connection of late Roman art with all preceding antiquity; 2. the narrowing of the shadow (in accordance with the diminution of the height of the projections) which also eventually reached its peak in late Roman art (Constantinian reliefs) by reducing it to the width of a line<sup>19</sup>.

Another achievement of F. Wickhoff is to have been the first to point out the relationship between the art of the early Empire and modern art concerning their optical perception. Yet on the other side it is especially the knowledge of the way in which the two modes of art differ which lets the specific nature of the *Kunstwollen* of the early Roman Empire clearly surface. The modern sculptor attempts to perceive the optical appearance of the individual shape in free space and to indicate it accordingly through the projections, more or less of deep shadows, creating interruptions of the light plane. Yet by no means are all projections of an individual shape in free space made recognizable through shadows. It is rather the consequence of the relation between the individual shape and space and particularly its most important artistic property, light, that on one hand a part of what projects is swallowed by light, i.e. dissolved on the neighboring light plane. Thus, there is created the impression of a plane, but one based merely on visual trickery and which we may consider an optical plane (seemingly, in reality curved in depth) versus the tactile (real, absolutely two-dimensional) plane. Otherwise the remaining part of what projects is indicated through even deeper shadows. The consequences of the relation between the individual shape and free space are only observed by the modern artist; his colleagues of the early Empire ignore them in fact. He took them just as an individual shape *per se* independent from the surrounding free space, the existence of which did not constitute in antiquity an artistic factor. Therefore, the ancient artist made shadows at

19) A reduction of the height of the relief and the width of the shadow is based on the discussed external similarity which combines the sculpture of the early Empire and the classical of the fifth and particularly the fourth centuries.

all places, where the natural prototype of the individual shape (such as a human figure) had a tactile projection. Whenever he had a choice among the numerous natural projections, it was done not under the consideration of light distributed all about in free space, but on one side on the consideration of the importance which the individual projections seem to possess in order to isolate them cubic-spatially, and on the other the consideration of a need for an as strict as possible rhythmic change from light to dark. An example in painting is perhaps best suited to illustrate what was said. The impression gained from the modelled face of a painted human figure during the Roman Empire can never be erased. The cheeks are usually placed in bright light, while the hollows between eyebrows, nose and cheeks are covered with a deep dark hue, out of which, again, the eyes glow vividly. Characteristic is that this manner of treating light and shadows in the head is repeated continuously in exactly the same fashion. Thus is demonstrated that it was not conditioned as nowadays by a change in the light of a room, but through the desire to have the individual heads and parts of the heads appear in as singularly finished a shape as possible and seen in a light which appears rhythmically distributed. The same mask-like character is even present in the much praised encaustic portraits found in Egypt: the masterly broad treatment gives them sparkling life, but it is always a separated life missing the right connection towards the outside and with the outside, and consequently, the basic condition for a perfect artistic effect in the modern sense, but which even more must have had its effect on the ancient beholder.

The essential deficiencies between imperial Roman and modern painting were already observed by F. Wickhoff in regard to their relation to the linear perspective and to reflections. These may be observed, even though imperfectly, because they are recognizable in individual shapes, indeed even in parts of individual shapes. The linear perspective never embraces all objects in a picture field from a common viewpoint, the reflections never move from a common light and color source over all objects. Although the ancient artist observed the individual shapes for themselves on the spatial projection of the relief on an even ideal ground, he did not see them as altogether distributed in a common infinite space. It is thus not correct to conclude that the indicated deficiencies (from the modern point of view) would be due to insufficient ability of the ancient artist. Even if they had known exactly the laws of linear perspective, as they are established by modern mathematics, they would have made no use of them, at least not during the time of the optical perception. Indeed, linear perspective was in modern art no doubt established during one of its tactile phases (in the fifteenth century). Ancient artists could not have wanted perspective unity of space, because it would not have offered

them an artistic unity. As always they looked for it in the rhythm of lines on the plane, to which was added gradually during the Roman Empire the rhythm of light and shadow.

The optical perception of art in the early Roman Empire differs from the no less optical modern art in its limitation to the common ancient aim of the perception of the individual shape outside space. This explains other numerous traits which post-Augustan art has in common with pre-Augustan art. Among those are the general and typical character of imperial Roman shapes which appear just in comparison with the individualized classical ones, but which still maintain in opposition to the modern their Platonic ideal life. First of all, however, comes the continuous autocracy of a composition on the plane as supreme unifying principle in art. The recognition of this is made more difficult in some reliefs in that in front the figures are bunched in a crowd, which is indeed able to create more often the impression of spatial composition in the viewpoint of modern art. This crowding has, however, only a purely artistic reason in order to connect the figures in the very front, in spite of their optical isolation, plausible and plane-like with the background. Foreground and background are still spatially completely apart not permitting us to estimate the distance of space in between them. The function of unification rests thus in all essential points still with the plane composition. The latter, however, is now no longer the generally centralizing one with the classical contraposto for the details, but for the sake of the background, it starts to move closer into the strictly isolated direction of the plane, as it can be observed already in the Telephosfrieze from Pergamon. Diagonal lines are again replaced by verticals and horizontals. In the foreground the figures are standing and moving. They are vertically placed next to one another, whereas the diagonals are only applied as an occasional enlivening interruption; both together constitute a possible single mass created at the top (as, of course, also on the ground) by a horizontal line. An even more effective combination of verticals and horizontals can be recognized in the backgrounds, where usually buildings are represented. If one wishes to see absolute proof that this arrangement seemingly corresponding with a section from nature was chosen exclusively for purely artistic considerations, i.e. for the composition on the plane, one may look at such reliefs, where the artist actually wished in consideration of the content to visualize the representation of active figures in space behind one another, as is the case in numerous scenes from the column of Trajan (fig. 8): instead of behind one another the figures appear immediately above one another. Any additional proof is unnecessary for the fact that seemingly standing behind one another was meant to be just spatial isolation of figures standing foremost in front of the plane versus the composition of several figures



in free space. A comparison of fighting figures in rigid position from the column of Trajan with classical warriors (the Alexander Sarcophagus) moving in a violent contrapposto teaches us in a most revealing manner on one hand the continuous dominance of the composition on the plane and on the other the change which meanwhile took place within the common basic principle.

The essential importance of the point raised here for the development of ancient art will justify quoting a monument which most recently has been cited by a competent authority as parallel to modern impressionism: the relief from the Arch of Titus in Rome representing the bearer of the temple vessels. The refined and enthusiastic characterization of this monument established by Wickhoff will mostly endure; but his principal perception of the step within the general development as presentend by the relief has to be discussed at this point, because otherwise all late development towards the end of antiquity cannot be understood. Wickhoff sees the artistic unity in this relief already exclusively achieved with the space composition; he also adds that similar «respiration», that is free spatiality between the figures, could not be seen again until the *Spinners* by Velasques. He imagined furthermore one half of the emerging arch represented in the relief and its other half added through painting on the ground, which means that the result would have constituted the precondition of the artist's intention to create no longer a composition of individual figures, but one of space with figures in it, a section of the universe, and of the ground, being perceived no longer as the ideal, tactile, and motionless plane out of which emerged the individual shapes moving in space, but rather as (optical) indication of real space. Yet one has to admit that this particular relief more than any other of its kind leads the modern beholder into the temptation of seeing his own *Kunstwollen* incorporated in it. This is mainly based on the relatively large amount of ground above the figures which otherwise during the same art period is usually placed lower and just above the massive and long extended background (e.g. the flight of buildings) and only as much above as it seemed absolutely necessary in order to serve as reassurance for the ancient beholder, who wanted, even here, still to be led back to the motionless flat ground. The high ground of the relief under discussion is conditioned by the spoils (temple vessels) towering above the shoulders of the bearers, which the modern beholder now seems to see balanced in a high, free, and aerial space. In opposition to such a perception there may be brought forward the following consideration in favor of the common antique character of the Titus relief. First of all, in spite of the separating shadows in their outlines, the figures appear still so densely crowded that the artistic intention must have been

directed as much towards a connection as towards a separation of neighboring planes. But the artistic unity was also in this case not searched for in the space composition rather than in plane composition. It is based not just on the lack of any background, but rather on a breaking up of the mass of figures into three groups, each of which has its own center by raising one head above the horizontal line; if the relief had come down to us in a less damaged condition, presumably the relations between lines among the individual figures crossing one another in the vertical and horizontal would have come out even clearer. Absolutely clear is the ancient barrier in the space relation between the bearers and the arch, under which they were about to walk: according to the present manner the bearers will unfailingly walk along the side of the arch (which is by the way, also in its proportions much too small) or even run against its projected wall<sup>20</sup>. Yet it would be absolutely wrong to see this as the result of the inability of the executing master, because he would not have had the idea of making spatial relations between bearers and arch subject of his artistic perception and the subject of the problem of his artistic execution; he rather would have considered it to be a most irritating barrier for his composition on the plane. This never took place in ancient art generally, and in modern art not only in the time of Velasques, but already in the time of Ghiberti and Donatello in spite of the tactile treatment of the individual shape among those quattrocento artists. If the relief discussed here is to be a section out of infinity it could just be imagined to be taken out of the infinite plane (in accordance with the contemporary dominant inclination towards cyclic representation, more about this below) but not out of the infinite space; however, this cannot, strictly speaking, be even stated, since the goal of the bearers passing by on the plane is firmly and definitely set by the arch. Yet the basic principle of the innovations in art accomplished during the early Empire, can, as previously indicated, be traced back to the hellenistic period. This is obvious through the change in the meaning of the line in painting (and together with it the stylistically identical engraving in metal) during the last centuries B.C.

Among the ancient Egyptians the line meant the tactile outline of the material individual shape. Not only was the human body outlined by a dark line, but also the mass of hair, the eyes, the lips, and, furthermore,

20) Wickhoff observed in the second relief from the Arch of Titus a similar, even stranger, negligence of the correct relations which is explained with the same reason. As far as the arch goes which is just executed in half, one has to ask what the modern artist would have done; he would have represented the arch complete but with foreshortenings. The ancient artist made it emerge half and diagonally from the ideal material background, exactly as he did with the human figure.

the drapery; however there was missing almost totally the modelling that is an indication of the partial planes achieved with differences in depths (a few exceptions to this rule demand and find particular historical explanation). Hence the line among the Egyptians remained essentially just outline and this was tactile, that is accessible to the touch in natural objects but not visible. Among the Greeks of the classical period this line first continued to be used as outline but besides that was also used for modelling in that the differences in depths on the figure in the round and their relief which indicated the borderline of partial planes were emphasized in vase painting with dark lines (similar to the outlines). These lines for modelling, however, are in Greek vase painting not yet shadows but rather a tactile indication of bordering lines similar to the outlines. They were able to take on this meaning more easily because in classical sculpture the shadows which indicated the projections were also kept narrow <sup>21</sup>.

Let us now compare a work of the hellenistic period: The engraved representation on the Cista Ficoroni which, according to the inscription, was made by a Roman but because of the stylistic character of the figures may be considered a work of Greek art. Here the figures are still outlined by a third silhouette but the lines for the modelling are dissolved in an abundance of small diagonal etched lines. That these etched lines are based on the old line of vase painting is already proven through their entirely linearly stretched shape; however, shadows are revealed through the widening and the haziness added to the bordering line. Here we have an undeniable example of the transition from the tactile faltering line to the optical shadow represented through a work which cannot have been later than the Roman Republic and which belongs very probably at the latest to the third century B.C. <sup>22</sup>.

Aforementioned monuments permit us now to see that the gap between the art of the earlier Roman Empire and the one of previous antiquity is

21) If somebody would assume that the lines which are used for modelling on Greek vase painting from the sixth until the fourth centuries constituted shadows then the gap between Greek and Near-Eastern art would be even larger, yet, the one between classical Greek and post-Augustan antiquity would be in most cases closed.

22) In order to be able to see clearly the difference between the role of the line used for modelling in classical art and the one of the third (final) phase in antiquity there exists no better medium than a comparison between black figure vase painting and black figure mosaics on white ground from the middle Roman Empire or between red figure vase painting and white figure mosaics on black ground; we find both types of mosaics for example in the Baths of Caracalla. Pompeian mosaics of this (and other) type can be investigated as intermediaries of the development with particularity and more clearly.

not as wide as the contrast between optical and tactile perception might on first sight make us assume it to be. Therefore, it seems to me no longer necessary to present the undeniable progress which took place in the spatial isolation of the individual shape from the ground level with the introduction of a new people with new artistic ideals – the Italic people – as the decisive factor in the creative arts. Nobody would deny that the appearance of the Germanic people who were not influenced by the Near East at all at that point must have had an effect in a progressive direction; yet, wherever we look in the areas of intellectual life – religion, philosophy, literature – the Greeks remained also after the battle of Actium the decisive area of ancient development while the Romans were more inclined toward the practical challenges in politics. The creative arts belonged however, not to the practical but rather to the ideal triumph of human sensitivity.

Connected with the decisive condition of an optical perception of objects were two kinds of phenomena of importance for the future. First the move of the beholder to a distance from where the tactile materiality of the objects lessens in comparison with the perception of color and where the experience of the tactile sense is now no longer immediate for the beholder enabling the eye to occupy itself predominantly with the colorful impression. This move of the beholder away from the individual shape is called *Fernsicht* and is opposite to *Nahsicht* which only perceives the tactile plane without shadows, but it is also different from *Normalsicht* which only perceives the tactile partial planes modelled with half shadows. Furthermore there exists an increased appeal to experience in the intellectual conscious of the beholder.

The original purpose of a work of art was to create an exclusive and immediate idea of the tactile materiality and the clearly bordered dimensionality of an individual shape. So challenged, the Egyptians succeeded in the best manner imaginable, even though not in an absolute manner, because that challenge experiences contradiction with its intent to represent the organic nature. Greek art introduced space, shadows, foreshortening, and overlap which, from the beginning, gave to a much higher degree than Egyptian art their support to the intellectual (remembering) activity of the beholder but also meant to limit the latter always to a minimum. It was made easier because experiences of the sense of touch evoked more than any other means of human experiences the idea of a material existence of the objects. Now the art of the early Roman Empire with the gradual removal from the *Normalsicht* abandoned little by little the immediate incentive for the sense of touch and left the report about the material – spatial existence of objects – to the visual sense. Its experiences concerning the impenetrability of the materiality of objects are not so immediate but rather based on an association with the sense of touch. It is clear that the

intellectual activity already occupied during a *normalsichtig* time through an appeal to the experiences of the sense of touch had now to be used even to a higher degree, because finally the experiences of the sense of touch could not be done away with; the detour through experiences of the sense of sight made this even more complicated and more difficult.

Now we understand the axiom which first seemed to be a paradox that with an increased space and three-dimensionality the figure in a work of art is also increasingly dematerialized. The period which was most materialistic in art was the ancient Egyptian which represented the individual object whenever possible in the two dimensions of height and width but also touchable for the beholder. From the point when Greek art consciously tried to express the individual shape also with the third dimension of spatial depth there was not, as one might assume, the impression of increased materiality for the beholder but rather a decreased one as a consequence of the increasing importance which now the intellectual consciousness (experience) gained for the perception of a work of art. This again was based on the increasing elimination of the sense of touch in order to favor the sense of sight.

The deviation from the primitive and natural changes in artistic creation directed towards the creation of the individual shape in an immediate, convincing and uninterrupted materiality is made obvious; of course it could never have happened had not the artistic decisive part of the population at that time found a stimulant to use intellectual efforts when appreciating a work of art. Yet such an effort can never be part of an entire population but is rather that of the educated people, hence derives the now obvious separation between popular art (to which particularly the religious art belongs maintaining the old Greek types) and fashionable art (for the sophisticated needs of the upper classes). Such an art which leaves the natural and generally accepted ground of tactile materiality and which hence depends on the intellect, that is subjective stimulants of the beholder, can no longer count on the general appreciation even among all the educated people of its time: hence, the now rising critical attitude of individuals (Pliny and others) in regard to the product of contemporary fashionable art. During earlier periods in art, which as the ancient Egyptian adhere strictly to the objective material appearance of objects, such a critical position of individuals concerning contemporary art products, as is also characteristically true (and more than anything else) for our modern time, would have never been possible. Also at this point the *Kunstwollen* is (to a similar degree as nowadays) encompassing, that is, it applies to everything; yet within its firm boundaries, common for all, there was now room for numerous subjective forms of expression which seemed to contradict one another.

Closely connected with this increased role for the intellectual thought in a work of art is the rise of cycles of representations. The basic iconographic principle, that is the unification of representation of several events separated by space and time in one and the same picture, is common for all periods in ancient art. Inasmuch as antiquity did not know a section of infinite space, so it also did not know a section of infinite time. In the same manner as it unified, on one plane, figures, which in reality were placed on different locations in space, so it also did not hesitate to bring together in one position events belonging to different times as long as there was an external reason for the presentation of such scenes. The specific innovation of this common principle in comparison to the earlier Empire is the presentation of large coherent cycles where the beholder at one time sees just the one or just a few scenes (not the whole sequence of such as in Gjölbaschi) but still being aware that the sequence is continued forward and backward in time and to the left and right of the plane. Here again consciousness had to be used that is experienced. Most obvious is this *Kunstabsicht*, which was called the «continued» one by Wickhoff, in the spiral reliefs of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. And also book illumination was used at the time frequently. Here indeed we have, so to say, sections from infinity; but this infinity expands just into two dimensions of the plane but not into depth.

To the same spirit as the cyclical representation belongs the phenomenon, visible not uncommonly in the sacrificial scenes of Roman reliefs, where figures in a procession suddenly stand still and look in the opposite direction. The same interest exists in the representation of the inner intellectual life as in the existence of a double direction which the plane spans into infinity. Next to the iconographic law of the cycle stands finally the decorative law of the infinite rapport which was dealt with already. It does not surprise one to see this law in the beginning of the Roman Empire (Pompei) applied increasingly.

Two more observations made on ancient works of art belonging to the earlier Empire may be mentioned here. One now finds predominantly draped figures in place of nude figures. They certainly stand, in closest connection with the phenomenon of the optical perception which is satisfied more easily through brittle drapery than nudity which was preferred vice versa by earlier periods in art thanks to its tactile inclinations. Furthermore, there takes place a decrease of that character of form particular to human figures which is called beauty. This is basically nothing more than proportion and that again nothing else than the evident connection of all parts belonging to one another in a material unity. But also proportions are no longer strictly kept in an optical perception which, for example, represents individual extremities with spatial foreshortenings. The disproportions necessary

through optical foreshortenings have gradually decreased the sense for strict proportions; in a similar direction of alienation from the tactile proportional appearance of objects moved the already mentioned increased usage of intellectual factors (intellectual tendencies). Hence the appreciation of a work of art which expressed earlier through its material appearance anything that it wanted to express.

Also these two just mentioned innovations were as all the other ones steadily increased during the later period of the Roman Empire. One would therefore be able to determine the character of the art from the time of Constantine to Theodosius in its very beginning already through the art of the beginning Empire just on the basis of the observation made.

The goal of the development was the spatial isolation of the individual figure on the plane; since Augustus the medium for this was the optical perception or, more precisely its essential means of expression, the deep shadows. In spite of this one perceived during the early Empire in the figures primarily just the projecting light plane; the shadows which framed them were recognizable in their unnecessary function but reduced in their effect. While the height of the projections was more and more decreased and the shadows became deeper and sharper there had to come a moment at which the shadows (that is the immaterial element which stimulated just the thought, the recession) attracted in the same manner the view of the beholder as the projecting planes had done. The surface of the figure appeared now to be perforated by shadows which became particularly important for the crafts. This moment took place no later than the time of the Antonines. The beginnings of this equality between the light and the shadow in regard to the effect can be found much earlier. Even the reliefs of the Arch of Titus show this tendency already clearly; since one first sees them in the entourage of Roman imperial portraits in a coherent row with Marcus Aurelius one will want to choose his rise to the throne (161 A.D.) as the end of the early Roman Empire and as the beginning of the middle Roman Empire. The latter ended with Constantine or, if a year is to be mentioned, with the year of the Edict of Milan (313 A.D.). The end of the artistic development of this time could already be observed in the Constantinian reliefs.

From what has been pursued so far, a series of consequences can be derived already for the inner development of art during the middle Empire, which immediately precedes the late Roman period. Similar to the recession towards a projecting plane the ground of the relief is related to the projecting individual shape. An attempt to create an equal balance between ground and shape is established; and, that indeed means the emancipation of the spatial ground surrounding the figure, as we have met it in the Constantinian relief and whereby the last aim of ancient development – perfect spatial

isolation of the individual shape on the plane – in fact appeared to be reached.

Furthermore, the relief recesses almost to the level plane and the shadows, which grope through it, become deeply engraved lines. These lines are not according to the modern optical perception etched with the projections visible in nature during a particular illumination of free space, but rather have – unavoidably joining the antique tactile quality – accordingly projections which are etched and are objectively touchable thus creating for the modern beholder a schematic and lifeless effect.

Since we are used to perceiving the objects on the surface from the *Fernsicht*, we immediately recognize, for example, in the Constantinian draped figures something which does not fit our accustomed optical impression of objects: thus particularly the folds are organized in such a selection and distribution, that for us the tactile *Nahsicht* alone can make it perceivable. In this latent schism felt by the modern beholder between *Fernsicht* and *Nahsicht* lies the real reason for the «inanimation» as we saw it already present in the Constantinian relief. But it is clear that the late antique beholder searching neither for free real space nor for unifying illumination of it in the work of art would have never sensed this «inanimation».

Finally, the spatial isolation of individual shape on the plane results unavoidably in a turn away from the basic classical postulate of proportionality, because the proportions are nothing other than the expression of the connection of the individual parts to a clearly recognizable, harmonic entity on the visual plane; yet as soon as the parts show a tendency to isolate themselves from one another on the plane (to dissolve the connection) also an observation of the right proportions must lose its appreciation. When it appears to be desirable in consideration of particular positive demands by the appropriate *Kunstwollen* (e.g. to fill as much as possible the plane at hand, and clarity and direction for the drawing of the outlines) to enlarge some parts (e.g. the neck of a horse) in relation to another (head and legs of the horse) in a disproportionate manner, one will now accept right away such a turn away from proportionality. Yet this difference towards proportionality is largely the essence of «non-beauty», which we also observed in the Constantinian reliefs. As was the case with the «inanimation» it does not mean, as commonly assumed, the general contempt of the laws of art, but only a temporary reduction of those laws, which our modern taste wants to see pursued in the visual arts in favor of others, which, for the time being, may not interest us, yet for that reason we cannot absolutely do away with in their historical right of existence. Hence via an unavoidably normal development, the beautifully animated classical antiquity became middle and late Roman antiquity, which was according to our modern terms neither beautiful nor animated.



It is understandable that a time believing in the existence of an absolutely aesthetic artistic canon was not able to perceive that the Greeks, who seemed to have come with their classical art so close to this dream of an art, would have volunteered to give up pursuing it and turn towards «inanimated» art. Since the time of Marcus Aurelius barbaric tribes increased gradually in number as an accepted part of the population in the Roman Empire, one was gladly ready to make responsible for the decline of ancient art this infiltration of barbarian blood, a position which superficially appeared to be justified. This hypothesis, however, could never have been taken seriously, if one would have remembered that such an infusion of blood according to all experiences of history should lead to only favorable influence, especially, since there was no increase of the old population, particularly in the important Greek East. The immigration of entire barbaric tribes in the Roman Empire, by the way, took place just at a time when the «decline» of art was already far progressed. Also, if one had ever tried to answer the question, what the barbarians could have contributed with their own artistic inclination, and if one would have compared the result with the nature of the «art of decline», one would have already long ago backed away from that assumption. From our description one should now gain the conviction that the element which modern taste considers to be crude and inanimated in the works after the time of Marcus Aurelius, was the naturally necessary expression of the great unavoidable fate of Greek art from its very beginning, but which also was of interest for all future development in art as necessary as christendom was in the general development of civilization in humanity. The criticized non-beauty and inanimation indeed immediately becomes an element of progress and rising development as soon as one considers that those two were the ones which broke through the ancient barrier of negating space thus ending the circle and freeing the route for the solution of a new responsibility: the representation of the individual shape in infinite space. Seen from this towering point of view late Roman art was the unavoidable transitionary phase of the general development in art among the overly matured civilizations. In the same way religion stands in relation to christendom and is by no means a product of barbarization by naive aborigines almost not grown beyond childhood.

A correct art historical evaluation of late Roman art which begins with the Constantinian reliefs thus needs as a necessary precondition the exact insight of art in the middle Empire, during which the supposed «decline» can be observed in its beginnings and first symptoms. Accordingly, it will be justified to show first the above characterized development in detail among a number of monuments.

But before we turn to the observation of reliefs, which are to become

the actual sub-stratum of our research, it appears to be recommendable to introduce two portrait-heads because they are able to make us realize two different points of development within the art of the middle Roman Empire. Whoever has the possibility to look over an almost complete series of Roman imperial portraits in marble will have gained the immediate impression that Marcus Aurelius constitutes a deep division.

Characteristic of the artistic execution of portraits of this emperor as well as the one of his brother Lucius Verus, his son Commodus (fig. 8) and their successors until Septimius Severus are the deep holes in the form of flat arches which are cut into the hair of the head and the beard and the engraved circular line with a hollow in the form of a bean seeming to indicate the periphery of the pupil and the reflection on the iris of the eyes<sup>23</sup>. As far as the drilling of hair goes, one can recognize the characteristics of this innovation best as soon as one recalls the manner in which classical art achieved the organization of masses of hair. That manner was entirely tactile in that the beholder saw everywhere coherent planes and was able to look down to the ground of the hollows between the bushels of hair which the eye was meant to see exclusively. The drilled holes in the hair decoration of Commodus attracts, however, the view, at

23) This optical treatment of hair and eyes does not appear suddenly and without intermediate steps in the time of Marcus Aurelius, but can be traced much earlier in individual examples: the fact that this innovation from 161 A.D. on was used in the imperial busts, being one of the most eminent areas of artistic creation, demonstrates that its particular tendency of *Kunstwollen* (if one so wishes, trend of fashion) achieves from this moment on unlimited recognition up to the most monumental form. The treatment of hair, which is full of holes, is obviously closely connected with the technique of the drill, and this again goes back to the time of the diadochs; but such a sketchy manner, as it became used from the time of Marcus Aurelius on was indeed not exercised in the drilling of hair earlier; at least the drilled hair pads of the ladies from the first centuries (e.g., the so-called Julia, daughter of Titus) show still circular drill holes in a rather regular distribution. The engraved treatment of the eyeball goes without any doubt back for at least a century or even more. Among the heads of emperors we found it commonly used in the time of Antoninus Pious; yet, already for the third quarter of the first century A.D. its use can be demonstrated with certainty, because it can be observed in some heads from the House of the Vettii in Pompeii. Therefore, I do not see any urgent reason to move the beardless and bald heads with engraved pupils, which one calls Scipio, etc., and one is accustomed to date at the end of the Republican period into the second century A.D., at which time the explicitly tactile *Kunstabsicht*, which created those curved skulls, can hardly be accepted. I am rather inclined to see in it the same symptom of a strife to a radical optical direction from late hellenistic until classical times such as in the figures of the monuments of St. Remy and Orange with their engraved outlines (but this at a later place). In contrast to this the Etruscan portrait figures made from clay (in the Capitoline collection) show the pupils emphasized through plastic additions: the tactile opposite to the optical engraving.

least to the same degree as the curls of marble left standing in between them; therefore, the eye sees dark hollows without ground, which does not mean anything from the tactile point of view and which appears just for the optical perception to be something colorful (dark, black). Just via experience of the intellectual consciousness we achieve the knowledge that behind the mere color stimulation exists also a tactile materiality which cannot be penetrated.

This example shows that beginning with Marcus Aurelius a transition to the optical-*fernsichtig* perception is achieved while still during the entire earlier Empire the tactile materiality was not completely set aside from the colorful appearance. The engraved pupils only make sense from a *fernsichtig* point of view, where they appear as purely colorful effects, while in the *nahsichtig* the beholder would not like to see on the eyeball an alteration of depth which in reality does not exist. The meaning of the importance of all these coloristic applications of the shadow (space) cannot be gained through the immediate perception as such, but here experience has to intervene in a degree unknown in the previous development. To be added is the fact that the engraved pupil initiates the use of a particular sign language, which means direct message from the interior material to the outside (as if through a window). This sign language is not to be confused with the polychrome indication of pupils during the earlier art periods (since ancient Egyptian) which were meant to represent solely an indifferent, purely material undirected view. Only a hollow, formed like a bean, which visualizes the play of light on the eyeball, demonstrates the intention to achieve a momentary optical impression. It is essential, however, that a decisive direction is now attributed to the view, that is motion in space, and one may perhaps state that this ability of expression of the inner directed view constituted the problem of portrait art during the middle Empire.

The treatment of heads of emperors as described continued to be applied under Septimius Severus. Under Caracalla there begins an increased movement and the head is turned in animation toward the side. With this obvious increase of spatial relation through the direction of the view goes together the treatment of the hair. An example for this second, immediately pre-Constantinian step of the development may be the head of the emperor Decius (fig. 9), whose reign fell exactly in the middle of the third century. The inner intellectual life with its momentary stirring effect<sup>24</sup> is infinitely distant from classical art character, and yet nobody would dare to see in it a barbaric art of decline. Significant for the firm positive tendency of

24) Other examples for this: Vatican, Braccio nuovo 124; Capitoline Museum, room with the Pigeon mosaic, number 61.

progress in this development is the treatment of the hair with furrows which are just chiseled in the form of short, linear strokes. While the curls of hair of Commodus were still carved in a tactile manner and their separation was made just with spatial intervals (the colorful, shadowy drill holes) any tactile element per se has now vanished and to the perception are offered purely shadowy (colorful optical) recessions on the light of the plane of the skull. They are here used to reconstruct with the aid of experience the notion of a (tactile with a curved plane) tuft of hair on the head. While we perceived in the head of Commodus tactile hair and optical intervals equally next to one another, one sees now in the head of Decius just the optical (dark, linear) intervals, while the hair set in between them as natural complement isn't even taken under consideration any longer: exactly the opposite of the classical manner to model hair, which, by all means, just brought the hair into sight and treated intervals as a subordinate and supported complementary element.

Among the reliefs the discussion of which we now undertake, a decorative one may be discussed first, because in such (as in works of architecture) the particular *Kunstwollen* surfaces in the least opaque manner. It is a pilaster in the Museo Paolino (fig. 10)<sup>25</sup> with the representation of tendrils of vine growing out of a vase and interwoven by a ladder with (broken off) putti. The leaves of the tendrils are represented densely and are sharply undercut so that under it there is ground visible, but just a dark shadowy hollow, that is space. Based on this is the continuous rhythmic change between light (marble) pattern and dark (shadowy, spacious grounds) producing that coloristic (optic-colorful) stimulus so characteristic for this entire art and its specific *Wollen*. Furthermore, the leaves, stem, vase and all the other objects visible on the relief maintain one plane revealing thus *Fernsicht*, which is so passive that the differences in depths between the individual objects, which are visible in comparison to the distance of the beholder, shrinks to nothing. As will be demonstrated, this perception became typical for late Roman art.

The ornament decorating the pilaster is an ornament on the plane, because all its details are, as already mentioned, spread out on the plane; therefore, it is nonetheless a flat ornament (which means an ornament without depth in the manner of the ancient Egyptian and the Greek

25) Already published by Wickhoff (*Vienna Genesis*, fig. 11 and dated by him around the year 200 A.D., which might be a little too early). Its art character was described by Wickhoff as a return, whereby he obviously had in mind the recent emergence of flattening and saw it as a return to archaism. This flattening, however, was not tactile as the Egyptian and the ancient Greek, but optical, and the replacement of the ground with space was a most important progress beyond anything else in earlier antiquity.

before the transformation of the palmette into the acanthus), because the spatial three-dimensionality of the individual reliefs is made visible everywhere through the isolation of the level ground with the help of a shadowy undercutting. What is true for the filling of the center is also true for the drilled representation of leaves on the frame; the transient sketchy treatment, which can still be observed here, will later on gradually give way to a stricter composition of the outline, which then contrasts with the *fernsichtig* perception in such a strange manner, so unbeautifully – inanimated in the eyes of the modern beholder.

Not only can we pursue, furthermore, the law for decoration, but even the ornamental motive – the tendril – in late Roman decoration. One representative may be included here immediately because it permits us to demonstrate in what manner the filling of the pilaster (fig. 10) differs actually from late Roman works in spite of its anticipated connection emphasizing close style. Fig. 11 shows one side of a marble capital in Split (Museum), which is not a unique piece from there and to which may be added from Ravenna (Museum, palace of the archbishop) several pieces of sides of capitals deriving presumably from the same manufactory. In the upper zone of the capital we see between the forepart of torsos belonging to forward leaping griffins, a peacock spreading his tail (broken off), which alone through its space-provoking en face position on one side and through its massively crude (which means unarticulated) formation of the contour on the other side expresses already the late Roman *Kunstwollen* with its most characteristic element. In the lower zone there appears the curling vine tendril (with so-called Turkish grapes), which differs mainly from the one represented in fig. 10, with the even flatter representation of leaves and a more massive treatment of the stem and the contours generally. According to our modern terms the development became thus increasingly inanimated and distant from nature <sup>26</sup>.

The best material to research the development of reliefs during the middle Empire is the Roman sarcophagi, among which, in order to avoid possibly debated fields, we will choose first just pagan ones. They belong almost exclusively to the second half of the second century, the third century, and the beginning of the fourth; their emergence is explained with the desire for immortality, which generally took hold of the

26) The opposite opinion is expressed by J. Strykowski, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I., 575 ff. (the early Byzantine sculpture of the mature period). Using a drum of a column with tendrils of vine in the same style as fig. 11, now in the museum in Constantinople, he claims that the «Byzantine» sculpture between Theodosius and Justinian had a genuine rise toward naturalism. The entire sequence of the Roman imperial development teaches that the opposite is true, and is proven, by the way, sufficiently through a comparative look at fig. 10.

Roman imperial population, particularly since the Antonines and especially among the Greek part of the Roman Empire. Portraits of the deceased were not carved just on the lid, but also frequently transferred to individual, especially important, figures among those belonging to the reliefs on the walls. The subject of representation of those reliefs was, for instance, not chosen from the life of the deceased, but from ancient Greek mythology – a new protest against the hypothesis according to which Roman art was principally directed toward the illustration of actual reality in space and time.

1. Sarcophagus representing Achilles and Penthesilea in the Vatican (fig. 12). The figures are overlapping partially in several rows thus presuming the existence of various levels of depth; yet that this does not mean a spatial composition in the modern sense is demonstrated just through the level ground, from which the farthest (highest) figures separate – even though the level ground does not reach the entire height as in the Arch of Titus – but also through the placement above one another in opposition to a placement of figures behind one another, and finally, through the unequally sized figures, among which the smallest partly occupy the very foreground. In spite of being placed several times behind one another, the figures are so compressed to a crowd that they remain as close as possible to the level ground and demonstrate the connection with it understandably. Consequently, the artistic principal element remains the composition on the plane and this is centralistic as well as contrapposto – like. The figure in the center is dominant, around which the other figures seem, so to say, to rotate. All the figures are moving strongly, and because they overlap, they create the impression of colorful confusion and lack of clarity. A solution is reached by inserting four figures of medium size which are distributed in regular distances between the dominant central figure and the mass of small figures filling the plane. This principle of composition that excludes the spatial unity of modern art, already with its mixing of figures of different sizes on one and the same plane, is exactly repeated on a particular type of Persian rug where the figures are replaced with stylistic vegetative motives of different sizes. The linear composition in particular is still based on the triangular system, which was created during the classical period; but the extremely sharp angles of the legs of the individual triangles, which stun the beholder immediately, lead visibly to the perpendicular triangular system of the Constantinian reliefs.

2. The so-called sarcophagus of Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 13). The visible ground of the relief is here reduced to a very small stripe to which the heads of the figures are

leaning; since this stripe is also curved and decorated with ornamental patterns, it seems to be stripped of the essentials of the ground – the pure uninterrupted plane. Therefore, the figures are without actual background lined in two rows among which the ones behind surface almost exclusively with their heads. The figures in front are, furthermore, so strongly undercut, that between them dark shadows yawn and the figures consequently seem to move (similar to the leaves of the pilaster in the Museo Paolino, fig. 10) actually free in space; the progress in that direction is most clear if one compares it with the preceding sarcophagus (fig. 12) or the reliefs of the Arch of Titus the figures of which all still cohere with one another and the ground. The struggle toward the perfect spatial isolation of the figures as we saw it reached in the Constantinian reliefs and pilaster (fig. 10), is thus complete; yet the aim is not completely reached, because the heads are still leaning to the upper-most ground and appear thus, even with a very thin thread, still tied to the ancient Near Eastern-classical perception of relief. The figures have, furthermore, in those places where they are connected with the ground, engraved contours (about their meaning below with figs. 18 and 19), through which indeed a certain recognition of the ground is still maintained.

The unclassical lack of clarity which produced on the sarcophagus wall previously discussed the numerous overlaps, is reached in the present case with a frequent change of light and shadows. The release of the tension is in a similar way reached as in fig. 12 through the means of a rhythmic position of the plane among interlocked over-slim lines of a triangle to which is added as innovation – the no less rhythmic organization of change between light and dark. The numerous half-shadows, particularly on nude figures, seem during the separation from the shadowy ground to threaten to swallow the contours and they reveal a considerable remnant of tactile, *normalsichtig* perception. In order to overcome this the figures had to become increasingly optical and to receive simpler outlines. This meant that they were deprived of the rhythmic articulations in their outlines. The end result of this process we consider to be the Constantinian reliefs. The next two steps of the process can be detected on the sides of the two sarcophagi to be discussed in the following.

3. Sarcophagus with representation of the Calydonian boar hunt in the Conservatori Palace of the Capitol (fig. 14). Most important is that now all heads seem to be free from the ground, thus each figure appears to be completely surrounded by free space; yet in order to hide, if possible, the existence of this necessary evil (free space), it was reduced to the minimum degree possible, just as much as necessary to have the figures appear cubic-spatially finished. There is created, so to say, a rectangular niche

with as little spatial depth as possible, which means it is brought close to the plane, just deep enough in order to represent the figures in it in their isolation of deep space, on the other side so limited that the idea of a section out of infinite free space could not rise.

Furthermore, the figures are crowded onto one and the same plane. That this flattening is based not on that tactile intention of early antiquity, but on an optical one, can be concluded particularly through the perception that individual figures in spite of their disposition on a single plane are nonetheless organized in as many reciprocal overlaps as possible. One may look just to the left corner group where the rider overlaps his horse, the horse again overlaps the pedestrian in the corner, the latter the dog at his feet, and, finally, the dog overlaps the little quadruped. It is a confused ball of yarn of figures on top of one another, all on the same plane whereby the beholder can just understand it from a great distance. Pronounced here is the main principle of late Roman composition: either to represent individual figures on the ground with clear outlines of their masses or a large number of figures overlapping one another, the latter is a massive complex as clearly outlined as those figures standing there individually; yet, intentionally, the middle position in between the two (the classical) is avoided, where few figures with freely moving extremities overlap one another partially and reveal considerable ground in between their articulation.

The individual figures show no less the desire to separate themselves in an optical flattening from the ground as much as possible; characteristic for this is the intention to present the torso with the two shoulders (en face) to the beholder in order to avoid the appearance that the figure would grow out of the ground with one shoulder (in the classical manner). The rider from the right side makes this intention especially obvious. In relation to the depth the figure appears as perfectly as possible optically free. The principal notion, which will be determined later, that late Roman art places the figure into a false position, finds here its essential explanation<sup>27</sup>. With this representation of the two shoulders there was at the

27) For the clarification of the underlying perception here may perhaps serve best the favorite composition of the quadriga in late Roman painting. Classical art presented it in a three-quarter view diagonally to the ground; late Roman art (compare, for example, the tile mosaic from the Junius Bassus Basilica in the Drago Palace in Rome) was to surround it with full cubic space and presented, therefore, the chariot and the human figures in it in a straight frontal view; the horses, however, would have in this kind of view lost all the lines characteristic for their individual shape. Therefore, one did not hesitate to let the horses run away from one another in profile view, in pairs of two to the left and right, which seems completely unnatural according to our perceptions which are based on the infinite unity of space and our



same time brought into the composition, the horizontal linear element, which corresponded to the transition of the triangular toward the rectangular composition. Also the perpendicular straight line is present on this relief, for example, on the interior outlines of the horse and it stands in significant contrast to the triangular lines of the composition here still generally expressive.

Among the details the forming of the drapery is to be emphasized. The folds are cut as deep shadowy grooves into the flat mass of the drapery, whenever possible with outlines; the treatment of the hair appears to pursue the drilled sketching used since the Antonines to the extreme limits of its ability of expression. Very instructive here is the presented perception that with the increased isolation of the figures which are made to occupy space goes together the disregard of the proportions; we see this here not only in the difference of size among the figures, but also in the unequal relations in one and the same figure, particularly among the horses.

4. Sarcophagus with the representation of the farewell, departure and wounding of Adonis in the Museo Paolino (fig. 15). Concerning the inclination towards cyclic compositions, as it is expressed through the unification of three different scenes, repeating three times the same figure (Adonis), one may refer to what was said before. As far as the artistic execution goes we come here very close to Constantinian art. The spatial niche, into which the figures are placed, is here not just as in the preceding sarcophagus above and below but also to the left and right entirely finished. The body of the figures, again in two rows behind one another, are distant from their former convex projection which has not just receded to the flat plane but sunk partly back beyond this average to concave molds (compare particularly the left Venus and the bearded man next to her). All perception about materiality is now brought to the awareness of the beholder exclusively through the optical fact of folds unified to a rhythmic

demand for a single moment in the picture. Antiquity – classical no different from late Roman – wanted to see the quadriga represented as a visually comprehensible material individual entity: late Roman antiquity expanded this challenge of the representation of the quadriga as a material object filling deep space; modern art wants to see free aerial space and the quadriga in it while space appears here to be the main element and the quadriga just to be an external pretext for the execution for the monument of art. In this context should be mentioned once again the turning of the horse whom the so-called Constantius is riding on the five partite Barberini ivory diptych (footnote). From the modern point of view these are distortions as observed in the ancient Egyptian figures on reliefs and in painting; but while the latter chose to eliminate any impression of depth, they were to the contrary in late Roman figures meant to bring very urgently to the eyes of the beholder the dimension of depth in individual objects.

and schematic sequence (or rather through the deeply drilled, very shadowy and space revealing recessions). Including the heads, the figures are placed in the shadowy space; yet particularly in this relief, which combines three different scenes, it is made obvious in an increased degree that one expected still not yet a solution of the artistic challenge toward the unification from that space (as in modern art), but from the ancient composition on the plane based on rhythm (vertical and horizontal, interrupted by a few weak diagonals) and no less from the rhythmic distribution between light and dark on the plane.

5. Side wall of the Muse sarcophagus in the Villa Mattei in Rome (fig. 16). Characteristic for this type of sarcophagus particularly used for christian purposes is the organization of free-standing columns (and not engaged columns) along its wall in between the columns of which the individual figures are distributed. That this wasn't meant, as one might immediately suspect, to be a clearly architectonic articulation of a stricter separation of the figures is demonstrated on first sight through the external effects in its restless execution of the entire visible plane in optical (this means light and shadow contrasts) perceptible units of space unlike anything seen before. In order to clarify this point it is advisable to compare it to a classical sarcophagus of this kind – the Mourning Women sarcophagus from Sidon. There appears in each intercolumnation a relief figure of moderate depth on a wide ground, each isolated and existing by itself; the columns are engaged columns with vertical flutes and a straight architrave above. Ground here is almost eliminated, the over-slim figures are flatly projected but at the borderlines are deeply undercut and turned in reciprocal communication to one another so that they seem bodily and spiritually to break their respective intercolumnations. Columns project in complete roundness with spiral flutes and are crowned by arches, even a horseshoe arch, so that in place of intercolumnations with a flat ground there appear niches which are spatial and hollow; beyond this the remaining ground of each niche around the head is made into a conch and the planes of the gores in between are without any exception also decorated. The main difference is hence that the figures on the sarcophagus from Sidon emerge from the relief ground, while the ones on the Muse sarcophagus appear to be placed within the space of the niches; the identity of this solution of the late Roman problem of space in figurative sculpture with the one we had observed in contemporary architecture (centralized space) is immediately obvious. Yet in the latter sarcophagus, the artistic effect of unity is nonetheless reached not with the relations of space but with a common and ancient approach, that is with relations on the plane. Also, here is expressed the crystalline law of all material form within

the linear rhythm, but not with a pyramidal construction or with triangular overlaps of moving extremities, but in finished oblong outlines of rectangulars, the verticals of which seem moderately animated through zig-zag reflections. Now the meaning of the columns becomes clear: they are meant to help to perfect the impression of a parallelogram-like regularity and, at the same time, to create an effective contrast with the restless flicker of the coloristic shaping of detail.

Among details the treatment of drapery and the decoration of the plane deserve to be emphasized in particular. The planes are indeed not wedge-shape cuts as in fig. 16, or drilled vertically as in fig. 17, but cut diagonally so that a coloristic effect of the dark shadowy line on the light plane is achieved. Besides that there is represented a residue of tactile perception in the ridge of the fold (again inclined toward archaic plating); the lines of the folds are here kept long and as straight as possible. In these two points the present representation of folds appears to be the immediate forerunner of later Byzantine art, as it became particularly typical in an entirely schematic manner after iconoclasm.

No less remarkable is the decorative part of the sarcophagus. The ornament, which fills the planes of the capital, the archivolts and the arches, is an acanthus, yet executed entirely by drilling. It is the same motive and the same technique as we could observe it in fig. 4 (console from the palace of Diocletian in Split). Even though in the latter case the leaves still kept the rest of their tactile character thanks to the movement of their cornice, in the Muse sarcophagus they have become all optical planes. All earlier relief ground in between the leaves is eliminated and replaced by shadowy space <sup>28</sup>.

28) If one has not realized the development of the acanthus ornament under the aspect of the use of the drill from the earlier Empire on, one is easily tempted to see the end result as it is presented in fig. 16 and as it is representative until the sixth century (610 A.D.), as a new invention of the late Roman period. This is the basis for the hypothesis by J. Strzygowski according to which the « Byzantine sculpture of the mature period » (between Theodosius and Justinian) as assumed by this scholar, was based on fresh naturalism. Strzygowski was indeed misled by the « discovery » of some architects that the Byzantines would have copied a different local type of acanthus (the acanthus spinosus) than the Romans. What would have been copies, according to the alleged discovery, of different types of plants is in reality just a different artistic treatment of one and the same artistic motive.

The tendency to deduce the artistic characteristic of individual decorative shapes from the imitation of specific species of plants is the most recent (and presumably also the last?) phase of materialism in art favored since Semper (yet partly in a misleading interpretation of his statements). Here again his main representatives are modern architects who (as all modern artists involved with aesthetics: Hildebrand, Göller, etc.) were never aware of the principal difference between the aims of ancient and modern *Kunstwollen*. These architects limited their practical activity for deeper

Essential difficulties arise in dating this sarcophagus. Its change in style appears already to have progressed very much; with the execution of its acanthus and with the briefly sketched volutes the capitals remind us already of the ones from Ravenna from the time between Theodosius and Justinian. Finally, one cannot overlook the horseshoe-like arch, because we recognize it as a symptom for dislike of the pure semi-circular arch as it became characteristic for the East Roman and particularly for Eastern art of the Middle Ages. While the monuments here mentioned all point toward the post-Constantinian period, the technical treatment, determined and free of all crudeness, as well as the contrappostic rhythm of the line constitutes an undeniable close connection with ancient art of the middle Roman Empire. Among the remaining known Roman columnar sarcophagi the pagan ones with representation of Hercules (Robert: *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs* III. Plate 34 ff.) belong to an earlier step in the development, the end of the second and beginning of the third century) while the christian ones, at least concerning their conception of space, reveal a close relationship with the Muse sarcophagus from the Villa Mattei. A christian example which stands especially close to the Muse sarcophagus I know to be in the catacombs of Priscilla.

6. Sarcophagus with the representation of Hippolytos from Salona, Museum in Split (fig. 17). The composition on the plane is here generally closed and centralized; the figures are turned toward one another in pairs, rather than generally or predominately being turned to the central point; there is a return to symmetry of sequence resulting in a remarkable loosening of the unified formation. The individual figures are projected flatly and overlap in the periphery but permit the ground behind to be visible in several places which is, as will be demonstrated, a sign of a system belonging

reasons (as most of their professional colleagues in the last half century did) mainly to copying earlier forms of style and were obviously after the desired «pro domo» prove. They believed that creation in art of earlier periods was as mechanical and without imagination as their own.

That they were given broadest influence by the leading representatives of classical archaeology in Germany during the last decades and that thereby the critical standard of historical understanding was given away completely, I see as the main reason for the observed sterility in archaeological research in all truly artistic questions. The achievements, which are not denied by anyone, and not belittled such as the ones by Dörpfeld, Niemann and others in connection with the clarification of architectural problems, will of course find always full recognition. But as long as classical archaeology is not willing to perceive with their own eyes an ancient work of art mainly in regard to its material appearance as outline and color in space and on the plane, it will always surrender the ideas in the history of art without judgement to the dilettante modern artist, may he be called Semper or Meurer or Borchardt.

to transition from middle Roman to late Roman relief and at the same time a sign of the change in the perception of the nature of the level ground. The folds are cut diagonally, as in the previous example, and already show an inclination for schematic sequence. Its origin is assumed to be after rather than before the year 300 A.D. The number of sarcophagus sculptures present from the third century A.D. suffices to clarify the rise of Constantinian relief style from the earlier period (and through that directly from the classical), at least in its essential traits. But, before we move to our description of the subsequent development, there should be pointed out a monument of relief sculpture which is as well dated as the Arch of Constantine but was made about ten years earlier and has been hitherto completely neglected by art history. This is a base in the form of a cube, which, particularly in its lower part, is damaged in many places and at the present time is standing on the Roman Forum between the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Column of Phocas. Function and dates are mentioned in the inscription: CAESARUM DECENNALIA FELICITER (C.I.L. VI, 1203) which is, according to C. Huelsen, to be connected with the decennali of Galerius and Constantius Chlorus during the year 303-304 A.D. According to Huelsen there were originally two columns and consequently also two bases, which stood at the sides of the large staircase leading from the forum up to the curia of Diocletian. One of the two bases (dedicated to the Augusti) seems nowadays to be lost; its former existence is ascertained through literary tradition. The one which is preserved shows on four sides representations in relief which can generally be related to the *suove-taurilia*: 1. Two victory figures, which display a shield with an inscription, below that two crouching captives and on the flanks trophies, all in a strictly symmetrical composition (fig. 18). 2. A Caesar doing a sacrifice (presumably Galerius: the head has been entirely destroyed, presumably by Christians) with human and divine figures attending (fig. 19). 3. Senators in two rows. 4. A bull, ram, and pig with priest and sacrificial servants.

Let us look first at the scene with the sacrifice (fig. 19). The composition is a centralistic one on the plane, even though the materialistic central figure (the sacrificial fire) does not coincide immediately with the ideal one (the sacrificing Caesar). The individual parts (figures) are almost without connections but lined up in sharp outlines and with strong emphasis of verticals and horizontals next to one another; the latter is especially apparent on the left side where the stiff position of the arm and the folds of the drapery attempt to bring, so to say, forcefully the horizontal line into the picture. Besides this one cannot avoid recognizing a faint attempt toward the introduction of a spatial composition, because this obviously was intended with the circular groove around the sacrificial fire, particularly the group on the right with its system of overlaps; the

seated female figure at the extreme end is on her right arm overlapped by the left but one figure, while she overlaps at the same time with her legs not just the left figure to her, but also the central figure of the Caesar (which we cannot see anymore due to the crack but may assume as correct reconstruction according to what is preserved), which is just made possible through the semicircular organization. Just alone the fact that for this perception a more exact observation is necessary demonstrates that the artist still solved the spatial composition in his mind essentially by means of the plane composition.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that the ground level is seemingly maintained, thus also the classical perception of the relief. Indeed, the outlines of the figures are not strongly undercut, and the figures seem to be consequently not so free in the narrow space of a niche as on the relief from the Arch of Constantine and on the sarcophagus. Yet everywhere along the contours (this is particularly obvious in the figures which are located in the rear) deep furrows are engraved, so that the figures are not closely connected with the tactile ideal plane of the ground in a classical manner, but are sharply and with emphasis separated from the plane. The folds casting deep shadows appear as shadows of the ridges (comparable to the furrows, which separate the individual folds of the draperies) and are meant to let the figure appear as if surrounded by an empty spatial zone, without sacrificing the ground of the relief; such a medium would, in contrast to the undercut outlines, be especially welcome on a columnar base which with stronger undercuts of the figures (for example, fig. 13) would have created in the beholder the impression that they could not carry height sufficiently.

This manner which makes the relief figures by the means of drilled outlines appear to be space-filling and thus also to be surrounded by space is, of course, identical with that intent which can be demonstrated already clearly in the beginning of the Roman Empire to have projection expressed no longer alone in a tactile manner through curving of planes which cast half-shadows, but also in an optical manner through recessions which cast deep shadows. In fact, one finds the use of engraved outlines in relief figures at least since the time of Augustus. The monuments from St. Remy and Orange are known to be the oldest examples for this; the origins presumably go as far back as the use of the drill technique.<sup>29</sup>

29) In this context is to be remembered what was said concerning the perception of light on the Cista Ficorini. In the marble replica of the Apoxyomenos in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican the left leg is already separated through drilled furrows from the tree trunk. In the trophies from Orange the linear holes between the folds are already through diagonal hatches emphasized in their optical effect (therefore, in a, so to speak, modern manner which can be compared also in the modelling of

We observe the new manner beside the old one lacking outlines all through the Roman Empire whereby the development shows in the beginning only the figures and the part of the figures which are in the background more outlined by furrows (as for example still on the column of Marcus Aurelius) and gradually also the ones more in the foreground are included, as this is the case in fig. 19; one may particularly have observed how the hands of the two figures in the left held before the chest, appear to be separated. This monument is one of the last where engraving of the outline is used as a means to define the individual relief figures in space.

As will be demonstrated, late Roman art needed this as little as the overlap of outlines (Constantinian reliefs). The ancient perception of the ideal level ground of the relief was indeed generally overcome by the fourth century A.D. and one needed therefore no longer a medium of expression in order to make the figure appear separated from it, because figure (materiality) and ground (empty aerial space, at first an ideal one) were now recognized to be two self-sufficient, unrelated objects. Besides that we observe in fig. 19 a phenomenon of middle Roman art already familiar to us, the projection of the figures in a broad and flat frontal view, if possible, under emergence of both shoulders; the arms, be they vertical or horizontal, are pressed closely to the body in order to avoid any projecting articulations; yet where action and extension of the arm becomes necessary, as in the case of the sacrificing Caesar, there it appears in a stiff horizontal line and vertical plane; chest and abdomen, particularly among figures which are placed diagonally into the picture, are flat and sunken-in (compare the female figure with the shield in the right side corner with the Venus figure of fig. 14 in the left column). Not just

the middle Roman bulls executed in *opus sectile* technique from the Junius Bassus Basilica in the Capitoline Museum). And yet, in the battle scenes of these monuments there is still shown entirely the composition on the plane in lively, entangled, obtuse triangles as they were exclusively typical for the Greek monuments during the classical period and not yet for the composition which became gradually common during the Empire with the scheme of steep, angled, slim triangles or almost entirely disconnected parallelograms. Also, the engraving within the actual figurative scenes is limited to contours of some figures in the background and avoided completely in the ones standing in the foreground. The use of engraved folds of the outline on the reliefs from St. Remy was explained by Wickhoff as transposition from sculpture in clay, which I, of course cannot agree with in principle. The slight engraving of the sketch on a clay plane cannot be compared with the outlines casting deep shadows of those stone figures; when one finds, for example, in the stucco reliefs from the Farnesina in the Terme Museum besides the shallow preliminary sketched lines also deeply engraved outlines, then the stucco workers must have had the same intentions as the sculptores from St. Remy and Orange. This intention had the same meaning as the actual abandonment of the relation between relief figure and relief ground observed in all preceding art in antiquity.

the folds of the drapery are executed with engraved furrows (spatial shadows) but also other indications of an alteration in depth in the figures (the nudity of Mars, the flames of the sacrificial fire, the feathers of the wings, and the palm branch of the crowning genius).

About fig. 18 there remains accordingly not much to be said. Engraving is used here more extensively, and particularly the trophies are exclusively visualized through linear furrows. For correct evaluation of underlying artistic intention, it is now necessary to perceive the engraved lines not as drawings, as done in Greek vase painting, but as hollow spaces filled with air in between which our experience makes us assume that there are material three-dimensional objects. The hollows in the hair and eyes, mouth and nostrils of the two victory figures have exactly the same optical function as the furrows which separate the upper scene of the drapery from the nude parts of the breast and shoulders and from the ridges of the masses of drapery.

The supreme artistic intention appears thus in the Diocletian reliefs to be directed toward the same aim as it was in the Constantinian relief made ten years later. Yet one cannot deny that on the columnar base the natural proportions within the figures were observed more carefully and that also within the folds the tactile juxtaposition is still brought into a greater dependency on the entire figure and its movement than it was in the Constantinian relief. Here one might perhaps be inclined to consider that this columnar base was not placed as the reliefs from the triumphal arch, at a considerable height and distance from the beholder, but immediately above the pavement of the forum. Yet generally very little is explained with such consideration, which would already, with a look at two sides of the base not illustrated here, find a limitation<sup>30</sup>.

30) Among those two sides is the one with the representation of the senators in two rows behind one another done like the two discussed ones, but less carefully worked; on the fourth, with the representation of the sacrificial animals are the figures left with entirely crude outlines and indications of details and without the final drilling. This was obviously the side away from the approaching beholder. Proof is presented through the columnar bases on the Arch of Constantine, where the figures also show on the frontal sides, visible from far off, the characteristic drilled engraving while the interior sides, which could be seen only from close by remained as crude plastic sketches. Older sarcophagi, which came down to us in a condition of partial completion, demonstrate that the execution as an engraving always preceded the sketch with the help of notched hollows as the technically preceding step. Especially instructive in this respect is the sarcophagus in the Museo Paolino, (Ficker, Lateran catalogue 154) where among the two central figures the completed one (Christ) had the folds already engraved, while the other one (Peter) shows them just sketched. The same condition, as this figure of St. Peter, is shown by most of the figures of the sarcophagus from St. Paul's in the Museo Paolino (Lateran catalogue 104) at the



The essential aspect remains that around 315 A.D. the proportional relation of planes among the parts to one another (which is the ultimate basis for animated beauty of antiquity) were to a recognizable degree taken into less consideration than ten years before. This gives us an indication that during the last years of Diocletian the development in the visual arts progressed faster and that innovations were carried out more decisively; with this coincide observations in other areas of civilization, where also in politics and religion the Empire within two decennia was placed on foundations externally completely new, even though prepared for internally long before.

This importance attributed (at least presumably) to the Diocletian time for this change in style unavoidably urges inclusion of the remains of the no less well dated pillars of Diocletian in Split for brief comparison. Yet the importance of these remains rests essentially in the field of ornament and architecture; but as far as figurative elements can be encountered, it corresponds completely with the perceptions as we could gain them from the base on the Roman Forum. Under consideration come here mainly only the figures, which are placed under the small console of the entablature at the porch of the baptistry and those of the frieze inside the cathedral. Among the first appears particularly the victory figure in the left corner console, entirely flat with engraved hollows of the folds, which comes thus close to figurative capitals from Santa Maria in Cosmedin, mentioned in footnote no. 12. The figures in the frieze (hunting scenes, genii with Mars and portrait heads) of the octagon of the cathedral which runs below the vault of the cupola, respect the distance from the beholder and the darkness of a interior<sup>31</sup> not illuminated through any window. They are executed in the same sketchy manner, which means crudely hung and left without finish with the drill such as on the sides which are not visible to the beholder on the Roman bases and on the Arch

foot of the large staircase where the proof can be found that the furrows to be drilled were first prepared and indicated by the chisel. The neglect of the lateral side is, by the way, already in pagan sarcophagi of the third century A.D. a consistent rule for obviously the same reason because they were not meant to be seen in full view.

31) Originally light could enter the octagonal interior space (which was without doubt the mausoleum of the emperor) just through the door and the lunette above the door; the window, which lets light enter from above, was just made in the seventeenth century and thus destroyed one field of the frieze. Nonetheless, still now the illumination of the frieze is so deficient that the photos which I ordered from Wlha were, in spite of all effort, not satisfactory. Fortunately, the widely projecting cornices above the lower colonnade which stands before the angles of the octagon permit the individual relief to be approached closer, so that I can talk about their character not just having seen them personally, which turns out to be insufficient in this case, but also based on *Tastaufnahmen* (tactile perceptions, having touched them).

of Constantine. Animals and Erotes are flattened and at the same time in their outlines a little bit undercut in order to separate them from the ground so that they are surrounded by space. Two of the portrait heads of the frieze can with some validity claim to be images of the emperor and his wife Prisca.

Having clarified the process of emergence, the end result of which is represented through the Constantinian relief, we are now free to pursue the subsequent development during the late Roman period and to thus meet our actual challenge. At the beginning there appear immediately difficulties which we are today not able to overcome entirely. Whoever considers a work of art not as an external arbitrary toy, but as a necessary expression of a particular aesthetic *Wollen*, cannot from a time which was in its ethic *Wollen* so separate<sup>32</sup> as paganism and christianity expect in artistic creation anything else than different and even seemingly opposite phenomena. Indeed, all indications point to the observation that the visual arts of the fourth century A.D. did not display a strictly unified character, but combined rather very different traits – old fashioned as well as forward looking ones. At least until the time of the Theodosius we always have to expect to find works which we like to attribute, according to their character of style, clearly to the pre-Constantinian time. While already, for these reasons, a clear knowledge of the development of the relief during the fourth century A.D. is extremely difficult, there is on the other side an almost complete lack of securely dated monuments. Besides the coins, which have validity beyond any doubt, and deliver an insufficient image of the developments for deeper reaching investigations, there remain just a few sarcophagi, among which only one carries an inscribed date; especially this single example raises a serious question if it was executed earlier than the deceased mentioned in the inscription.

Most likely one would assume that the sarcophagus from Santa Costanza in the Sala a croce Greca of the Vatican (according to the tradition, containing the remains of Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great) originated almost contemporarily with the date of death of that lady (354 A.D.). Here (fig. 20) we find essentially new traits, which became characteristic for the late Roman style; in this case there is no reason to

32) Yet the gap which separated latest paganism from christianity is generally much over-estimated; already the fact that pagans and christians belonged to the same peoples and to same general area of civilization should alert one to be cautious. The ultimate goal towards which the cultural streams of paganism – at least from the Antonines on – were aimed, was basically identical with the ones of christianity. Today we should be distant enough from those times to recognize without prejudice the element which embraced all differences – the strife toward salvation through a transcendental element.

assume that an older sarcophagus would have been used, a kind of possibility which should never be left without consideration during the time of Constantine.

Especially obvious is, in regard to iconographies, a particularity that figurative elements appear not as they do on almost all christian and pagan sarcophagi of earlier times, in large, enclosed composition, but that for the first time they display now a more playful, symbolic character (wine harvesting and wine preparing Erotes); and secondly, that they are almost completely absorbed by the decorative elements (acanthus, wine and fruit tendrils).

Yet the artistic impression is dominated completely by the new relation between plane and space, externally so different from the one during the middle Empire which seems expressed through restitution of the level ground without the figures, as on the Base of Diocletian (fig. 18, 19) being framed by sunken contours. It is thus not so much a new, rather than an age-old relation which had dominated all earlier antiquity and to which, as it seems on first sight, one began again to turn. And one should not demure that it is here essentially a more decorative ornamentation; indeed, the pilaster in the Museo Paolino (fig. 10) and the Muses sarcophagus in the Villa Mattei (fig. 16) already have taught us sufficiently that the decorative ornamentation of planes during the middle Empire also moved gradually toward a replacement of the ground in between figures through space (but not yet behind figures). The implementation of full cubic space (three-dimensionality) in the individual figure – this last challenge for ancient art – was thus also fully accomplished in decorative sculpture; yet the execution of the relief of the sarcophagus of Constantia makes us think that one turned again towards earlier, even classical, ways. But before we try to understand clearly the new perception we have to appreciate the execution of the figures in detail and as part of the composition.

If we look first at the individual figures for themselves, we recognize immediately perceptions which constitute a closer connection to the hitherto observed development. The figures are projected to broad, flat view, the connections between individual parts (particularly the joints) are left without *nahsichtig* tactile execution, which produces the impression of bloatedness, lack of animation and crudeness for the modern beholder. The hair is sketchy and yet at the same time executed in painstaking detail (a real late Roman contradiction in itself). The pupils are indicated with stiff circular engravings; the contrast between light and dark is also present but not through the drilling (that is shadow) which would be ineffective in dark periphery but, on the contrary, it is achieved with the shining polish of the surface, that is by means of light. From the largest vessel to the smallest flower, every motive is brought into as clear as possible an

outline, firm, unarticulated, massive; the tendrils are thick protrusions to which are externally placed the minute yet painstakingly, sharply designed spikes of the acanthus leaf. While in the earlier decorations the tendril was formed out of curved leaves, the massive tendril, to which the funnels became the main element, are added only for the animation of the detail. The same striving towards leaded massiveness in the whole while keeping graceful treatment of the detail, is revealed by the peacocks, the lamb, and the schematically detailed wreathes of foliage.

Furthermore, as far as the composition of the figures is concerned, it is generally even and symmetrical and presented as such alone as plane composition; yet it is obvious that, for example, the smaller tendrils of the three large circles of acanthus on the long side do not branch out any longer in a pure circular motion but in a clearly sharp angle. Here one will easily make the accusation of barbarism; yet if one sees the same and numerous other late Roman monuments repeated (compare for example the execution of the tendril on the scabbard of the Constantinian tro-paeion in Adamklissi (fig. 21a) <sup>33</sup> one will come to the conclusion that one consciously tended to deviate from the pure circular form. But the intention cannot be any other than to interrupt the inner connection between the mother and the daughter tendril as naturally expressed through the circular and continued rolling of the classical waved tendril. If one does not want to attribute this to the late Romans one will have to concede it for the Chinese, who draw the tendrils principally in accordance with the same rapid scheme (fig. 21b). Yet the clumsy drawing of the tendril lacking inner flow loses immediately its unnaturalness and barbarism, if we perceive it as an expression of the basic tendency of *Kunstwollen* in late antiquity already clearly observed during the middle Empire; the conscious neglect of the plane relations which connect the parts with one another for the sake of the principal tendency for the perfect cubic-spatial isolation of the individual shape.

An investigation of the treatment of detail among the motives of the Constantia sarcophagus nowhere deviates from straight development, but continues it rather systematically. This perception could be extended to all other details; mentioned may here be just the flat branches with three grapes each of which can also be found in the decoration of Diocletian's palace at Split, and also the massive and oval heads of the lid which seems

33) Compare Tocilescu-Benndorf-Niemann; *Das Monument von Adamklissi* (fig. 126). Since the tendrils touch the edges of the stripe and the forks of the tendrils, the ground is broken up into many small separated parts: this is as much unclassical as it is a typical late Roman manner to create a relation between ground and pattern, to which we will return in the discussion of the gold jewelry with inlaid garnets.

so rigid. And in spite of all this should there have happened a return to the classical perception of relief? Externally this already appears to be impossible; in fact this relief is as little meant to be a flattening of the figures in the classical sense as it is in the ancient Egyptian. The figures are indeed not placed in a free spatial sphere (niche) before the wall nor are they in their periphery outlined with a shadowy furrow but rise immediately from the flat ground. Already the first sight evoked in the beholder is the instinctive feeling that this has nothing to do with the ancient perception of relief. The figures are not born out of the ideal material plane, diagonally grown from it in a three-quarter profile, but are, so to say, pasted on the ground. The ground is no longer the artistic complement to the shape serving as its necessary foil, but rather something which is alien to the shape which is inserted as independent element between the figures. With one word: ground became space. This is the last consequence of the development since the hellenistic period, because the maintenance of the old Near Eastern and classical perception of the ground was in the long run not agreeable with an optical perception. During the early Empire this was still made possible through a considerable maintenance of the tactile perception; and until the very last, until the end of the middle Empire, it was achieved to save still an ideal remnant of the level ground through the artistic framing of the figure with a linear spatial zone. But this is also now left behind; the ground is empty space, out of which the individual shapes rise in isolated full spatiality. Thus the way was prepared for all subsequent development which attributed to the universal space the principal role as creator of unity. The late Romans and their immediate heirs, the Byzantines, did, however, not enter this route; for them the individual shape remained the main element and aim of all creation in the visual arts, the substratum of all unity and thus of all redeeming effect in a work of art in as much as this was still searched for in the material appearance. The ground level remained for them no longer tactile, but rather optical; it possessed just the meaning of an ideal space, which was to be seen not so much as individual and momentary chance rather than objectively imagined. Here, again, is evident the characteristic appeal of the late pagan and early christian art to a clarifying redeeming thought.

In continuation there can immediately be made a conclusion which offers an explanation for a characteristic phenomenon of the late Roman time. It is clear that the perception of the ground as space and the maintenance of the individual figure as the only object of artistic treatment and center of artistic effect could just be achieved in a completely satisfying manner, if as few figures as possible are represented on the relief and in as much physical isolation as possible. In that manner we saw the problem

solved on the sarcophagi from Ravenna. But what happened when a larger number of persons had to be brought in immediate contact with one another, that is a reciprocal overlap? This meant nothing for classical art; it could, in spite of its principal negation of space, create space relations between figures in a manner that they would appear as relations on the plane, because the presence of the ideal material level of the ground alone permitted the beholder to transfer eventually all space relations into relations on the plane. Late Roman art is different; it took the free plane between the figures non longer as ground but as a space. Consideration of the spacial relations among the figures meant consequently for it also an increased consideration of the spatial intervals, while it was basically just concerned with individual shapes. Late Roman art avoided this in a manner that anywhere, where many figures had to be represented, they were placed so that one very broad row was set in the foreground and other narrow rows set behind so that they were covered with the figures of the foreground except for the heads (and a few other details). Thus all free ground between the figures seemed to be removed.

The relation between figure and ground shows thus in late Roman art a move from one to another extreme, which we observed many times since the middle Empire: either an overwhelming ground (space) with a few figures or, if possible the elimination of all visible ground through infinite overlap of figures. In the case of the sarcophagus of Constantia no difficulty existed in this respect because all figures (and naturally all decorative details) could be placed next to one another without reciprocal space relation toward depth. The figures are standing just in a relation on the plane (right and left) with one another. Each figure constitutes by itself a cubic – spatial and all enclosed individual element, which rises, according to the *Fernsicht*, out of the aerial space, a flat projection to be sure but also rendered with sharp three-dimensionality.

Opposite the sarcophagus of Constantia there stands in the Sala a croce greca another sarcophagus of the same material, size and type (fig. 22); it is said to have once contained the remains of St. Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, and to have been standing in her mausoleum (Torre Pignattara) before the Porta Maggiore. This should be correct; however, the question is whether the sarcophagus was made in the first instance for St. Helena, that is in the time of Constantine the Great.

It is obvious that the perception of relief, as it is here revealed, cannot be brought in harmony with the one of the Arch of Constantine and the sarcophagus of Constantia; this high relief could hardly belong to the first half of the third century. The pleasure with which the extremities of the figures appear to be freemoving, the tendency toward change in their turns (posture) and representation of the psychic expression in the coun-

tenance of the captives<sup>34</sup>, all these are elements which art since the first century practically avoided. Rather than sunken into space one finds now a tactile projection from the ground which, so to say, constitutes (which is for the Hadrianic period not surprising) a fall back into hellenism; in place of the decisive dominance of verticals and horizontals numerous diagonals are making rhythmic connections; even the polish of the porphyry produces here not the restless flickering effect as was the case on the sarcophagus of Constantia. And nobody ever asked for the meaning of battle scenes on the sarcophagus of St. Helena; nor, the name of the general galloping forward on the oblong side, to whom the warrior kneeling below gestures meaningfully and whose horse is led in an excellent manner with a rein by a servant. Since it is obviously not Constantine, who else would be represented here than the actual original patron of the sarcophagus? His bearded head already suggests a time between Hadrian and Diocletian; otherwise everything points rather toward the beginning rather than the end of this period. The only monument, which in composition can be placed next to it, is the base of Antoninus and Faustina in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican.

Use of porphyry is not unheard of at this time; from Hadrian's Villa we know to what extent one made use of colorful hard stones. To be added is a most remarkable fact that the pupils are not engraved in any figure as it is the case almost without exception in contemporary (non-mythological figures) since the time of Marcus Aurelius. Just the horses received for their rather large eyeball drilled holes, and for this we recall that the engraving of the pupil appears during the second century A.D. first in colossal busts (Antoninus Pius in the Capitoline Museum) and in over-life sized portrait-heads, which means an eye made especially large, where an optical inanimation of the polished eyeball would have naturally appeared to be most bothering (because the least masked by the eyelids). According to all of this, we may recognize in the sarcophagus of Helena a work from the middle of the second century A.D., which in the third or the fourth century was used to contain the remains of the mother of Constantine the Great. How a sarcophagus of the fourth century would have looked is illustrated by the one of Constantina, we just discussed, which obviously received its external shape according to the prototype used for the

34) Note, for example, that among the four walking captives of the lateral sides the last one is still walking upright and looking back to the home country, from where he is deported into slavery, that the following figures in a gradual sense feel more their dark future, and that the figure foremost in the foreground in complete resignation is forwardly inclined bending his head.

grandmother, yet a kind of decoration in relief which could not be more different <sup>35</sup>.

One point remains to be clarified: why would one in the fourth century A.D. make use of works of art which derived from a *Kunstwollen* so different from the contemporary? Does this not contradict the conviction which underlies this whole investigation, that each period has its own independent *Kunstwollen*, rooted in all the other contemporary aspects of civilization? Yet also the following has proven to be correct: in the fourth century. AD. one undoubtedly did use older monuments of art for its contemporary purposes. It suffices to quote here the Arch of Constantine; furthermore, the multiple uses of older parts of architecture (particularly columns) for the christian churches and especially those mass robberies of statues from all provinces of the Empire, which Constantine the Great had deported to Constantinople and displayed there for the decoration of streets, piazzas, and public buildings.

It does not surprise us that such behavior was again interpreted as nothing else but barbarism and admission of own inability; yet, if one had

35) My ideas about the origin of the sarcophagus of St. Helena I presented for the first time in June of 1899 at a meeting of the Eranos Vindobonensis before a larger audience not without lively contradiction from a representative of classical archaeology. Because the fact was even thereafter not to all so clear and convincing on the first sight as it seemed to me, I thought that I should address the question before a larger interested audience which I found in the first section of the Congress for Early Christian Archaeology in April, 1900 in Rome. My presentation, which repeated just what I had said a year before in Vienna, did not only not find any contradiction but also I learned that meanwhile a Scriptor of the Vatican Library, Mr. Monaci, had studied the sarcophagus of Helena and had come to the same result concerning its origin; Mr. Monaci's treatise for the Archivio Romano per la storia patria I could not use for this publication because I did not see it until the moment it went to press.

The sarcophagus of Helena was under Pope Pious subjected to a thorough restoration. Especially the reclining angel figures on the lid are added. Also, the two busts at the corners of the oblong side – said to be Helena and Constantine – may be part of that restoration because the execution of the eyes (without engraved pupils) as well as the hair does not belong either to the Constantinian nor to the Antonine period; the hairdo of the lady is rather the one of Julia Mamaea (first third of the third century A.D.). Already Helbig and Bernoulli observed that the structure of the porphyry from which the (inset) busts are made, is different than the other materials and it becomes indeed probable that both busts were at the end of the last century arbitrarily added which also the modern profile of the two heads seems to indicate. But before this last question can definitely be decided a thorough investigation is needed to separate the old parts from the new ones. This difference can be easily determined in the relief figures of riders and captives; here we find in all essential parts the old condition and these mean as said above, a date in the second century A.D.



not just compared modern conditions as they existed until recently generally in Germany and are still there today, one would have either to declare the collection of antiques also as a symptom of barbarism or to give way to a more lenient and above all more objective judgment. It is correct that a time which is stimulated in a work of art in a tactile-*nahsichtig* manner, a monument alien to that time could not be used. Different is the kind which devotes to the objects only an optical – *fernsichtig* observation, because it perceives mainly the entity and may overlook the annoying tactile detail. The same is true for a time which has found not so much satisfaction through the material appearance rather than through the content, that is the visualized notion; such a time will sense the material appearance overwhelmingly just as a colorful stimulation of the eye, a coloristic inspiration, and will, therefore, overlook the details of shaping. Both is true for the Constantinian time: the optical – *fernsichtig* perception of objects as a concentration on the content of the work of art, and on the other side endowed with a quest for coloristic needs – as far as the material appearance unavoidably came into consideration. Yet there is no doubt that the Constantinian time developed its own *Kunstwollen*. That this *Kunstwollen* was endowed with its own positive content should already be sufficiently clear. Yet the nature of this *Kunstwollen* permitted to be agreeable (as it is with the modern, already half-gone by) to the appreciation of monuments of an older and different *Kunstwollen*, while one expected an artistic stimulus from completely different directions than those imagined by the creators of these monuments.

The two other sarcophagi, which have some basis for their date, are so-called early Christian sarcophagi which means relief representation from the world of early Christian notions. Both are marble: one is a sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (died 359 A.D.) in the Museo Paolino; the other, which is presently in the Capella della Pietà in St. Peter's. One has attempted to bring it in connection with Petronius Probus (consul 371 A.D.) and his wife Anicia Proba on the basis of an inscription attached to the outer part of the site of discovery. The first sarcophagus achieved particular fateful importance; it carries an inscription on the small frame of the entablature of the frontal longitudinal wall relating it to the death of the buried person and permitting a secure date by mentioning the consul of the same year. That the sarcophagus was made for Junius Bassus or, at least made just briefly before the year of his death has to date not been doubted by anybody. On the contrary, one used this sarcophagus which, according to modern ideas of taste, is one of the best among all preserved City Roman early christian sarcophagi. It was placed at the beginning of Roman sarcophagus sculpture. One declared generally (with very rare individual exceptions) all other preserved monuments of that type, because they

were made worse from the viewpoint of modern ideas, later, which means after 359 A.D. Thus one eventually dated the large part of the City Roman early christian sarcophagi in the second half of the 4th and the first half of the fifth century A.D. This opinion is shared also by the author of the catalogue of the Lateran Collection (= Museo Paolino) of early christian sculpture Professor J. Ficker, which is important for this question, yet, not without emphasizing the difficulties still present in a classification of the City Roman early christian sarcophagi. In my opinion the essential part of difficulties would cease to exist, if the pivotal date of the Junius Bassus sarcophagus in the year 359 A.D. would be given up and if one would believe that also in this case an older sarcophagus was re-used, which can be seen already through the placement of the inscription at an unusual and unsuited place.

How one has in turn to perceive the development of early christian sarcophagus sculpture, can within the limits of this work, not be discussed in detail. I have to limit myself, therefore, to the following remarks. That at a time when sarcophagus sculpture flourished most among the pagans (that is between Marcus Aurelius and Constantine) the christians also made use of it, which is universally conceded on the basis of individual monuments of obvious pre-Constantinian stylistic character (particularly the sarcophagus from the Via Salaria in the Museo Paolino). Thus the often mentioned objection that before the Edict of Milan an external possibility for the rise of christian sarcophagus sculpture would have been missing is proven false through facts. It would also not make sense that between the beginning of the reign of Gallienus and the last years of the reign of Diocletian when the prohibition of the christian cult was just a normal fact, at the imperial residence proud basilicas rise and that even at the court christians lived their belief undisturbed – why then in such a time should the christians have deprived themselves from the generally desired and appreciated luxury of sarcophagus sculpture? If we now acknowledge that the christian sarcophagi such as fig. 23 have individual, completely identical traits with pagan ones such as fig. 16 and 17 and that even sarcophagi such as fig. 24 presumably indicate the end of the entire development and that they could have been executed just in the fifth century A.D., and that they stand in essential points close to the Constantinian reliefs, then one should be entitled to remove the date of 359 A.D. and let a coherent development of christian sarcophagus sculpture begin before the middle of the fourth century which would partly find the parallel in the pagan sarcophagus sculpture of the middle Empire <sup>36</sup>.

36) The best entire picture of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus is to date the heliograph in Grisar's article in *Römische Quartalschrift* 1896, pl. V, VI. It is practi-

Better than the Junius Bassus sarcophagus the sarcophagus of Probus<sup>37</sup> fits the time which one meant to attribute to it (the seventies and eighties of the fourth century A.D.). Its composition on the plane is, in spite of the niches separated by columns in which the figures are distributed, basically identical with those on the Constantinian reliefs (fig. 7). The disciples distributed in pairs in the niches relate not just on the front side, but also in the two lateral sides without exception (and with very little change) to Christ standing at a raised place between Peter and Paul in the central intercolumniation of the front. The composition of the figures themselves is designed in as rigid as possible, isolated, oblong, and triangular outlines; just the turn of the head and the arm partially raised (as in the relief of Constantine) indicates a direction which keeps the attention of the figures. This means that the artist mainly intended to express the inner motion of the figures while limiting the outer to a minimum and admitting just so much (as necessary evil) as it was unavoidably needed

cally unavailable for research because the Vatican grottos are inaccessible. Mons. De Waal in Rome is preparing the publication, which is supposed to appear very soon on Easter 1900. I owe the generosity of the same prelate that I was able on Easter 1899 to investigate the same sarcophagus for about ten minutes with candlelight. I was able to see it for a second time briefly this year on the occasion of the Congress of Christian Archaeology (1900). Such brief glances do, of course, not suffice to answer with certainty basic questions as they arise in view of such an important monument. It is a columnar sarcophagus such as the one illustrated in fig. 16; the columns are standing here even freer before the wall so that the groups of figures constitute virtually free groups under tabernacles and do not need to demonstrate the fact that they fill space three-dimensionally by letting the niches partially emerge (above with architrave, below with a flat segmentary arch and pediments). The corner figures, so nicely described by Grisar, are also, in accordance with the special composition known to us from the Arch of Constantine, through undercutting of the silhouettes represented as free figures in space. Within each group exists a strict linear composition, where vertical and horizontal lines dominate, but where also diagonal lines exist; the latter is visible in a remarkably superficial perception of the linear scheme in the scene which shows Peter taken captive, and where Peter appears to be almost falling down; a similarly inclined position is, by the way, also visible in the extreme right figure of the apostle on the frontal side of the Liberius sarcophagus in Ravenna (fig. 27). Generally the Junius Bassus sarcophagus constitutes a bridge between the Roman sarcophagi and the ones from Ravenna with its convenient positioning of columns, its inclination toward a strict composition on the plane and the numerous contrapposti and a relatively tactile shaping of drapery in spite of the otherwise optical principal perception. Also the Erotes on the sides of the Junius Bassus sarcophagus are (according to our modern taste) better executed than those on the sarcophagus of Costantina; hence, they demonstrate that they belong to an earlier stage in the development.

37) Compare Busiri-Vivi *La Colonna Santa ed il Sarcofago di Probo Anicio* where on plate 2 the front is represented in heliograph and on page 3 the other walls as drawings.

in order to bring the inner motion of the figures to the awareness of the beholder. This essentially late Roman preference for the tendency toward content, which means the outer function within a work of art, understandably goes hand-in-hand with an increasing neglect in the observation of the natural, tactile connection of the parts. Particularly the abandonment of the contrapposto in favor of a more neutral placement of the legs (the curved one in favor of the straight lines) is obvious in the relief of these sarcophagi.

While the Roman columnar sarcophagi constitute a transition to the ones from Ravenna, the actual west Roman type is represented through monuments like fig. 23 (from St. Paul's before the Walls, now in the Museo Paolino). In the inclusion of the free spatial sphere (narrow niche) between figures and ground we recognize the system of Constantinian reliefs, which we got to know as the end of the middle Roman development. The sarcophagus under discussion stands in connection with pagan work such as the Adonis sarcophagus (fig. 15), which combines scenes of different space and time in one picture, when, for example, on the upper right sides the Pilate group gathered around a table is completed by the kneeling Isaac who belongs to neighboring sacrificial scene. Unity appears on the side to be achieved with the known medium of composition on the plane beside this also is an essential element, which now increases in daily importance, a nonartistic, medium because immaterial: the idea, which combines all of the figurative groups on the wall for the christian beholder under the common viewpoint of guarantees of salvation (as already similarly achieved in late pagan compositions) as it can be assumed for the Adonis sarcophagus fig. 15). Yet this sarcophagus has a unique character because it is to a certain degree perfected in the spatial composition of the earlier mentioned Pilate group.

During the course of the preceding investigation it was several times mentioned that ancient art never achieved actual spatial compositions, even in the earlier Roman Empire. In view of the Pilate group under discussion the existence of a spatial composition cannot be denied which isolates the figures in free space and at the same time leaves them connected under a unified viewpoint of a higher spatial entity. This is actual «respiration», tangible air circulation between figures, isolated, yet brought into composition on an optical plane! One was, to the end of antiquity, so close to a break with the ancient limitation, the conscious transition toward a real modern perception of space; yet this was obviously the isolated striving of an isolated master (unfortunately, anonymous), as so characteristic for all late antiquity, who was bold enough to draw from the tendency of his time extreme consequences moving far ahead. Already the Pilate group of the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, composed in the same

basic scheme, shows this, even though considerably simplified, and lacking especially the remarkable figurative semicycle. There was obviously no need for the solution of such problems; time would come for this a thousand years later during the origin of the Naumburg sculpture (Last Supper).

The question was raised as to the meaning of the man sitting next to Pilate and not mentioned in the gospels. One could have asked as well what the majority of the figures would mean, visible behind the figures of the foreground just with their heads on the background. In as much as these latter ones have just a pure artistic function – the clear isolation of the foreground and main figures from the plane – is also the role of the companion figure of Pilate just to explained with the meaning of the composition: to create an eye-catching semicircular, true space around the table. The playful raising of the leg so that the man holds the knee supported by his arms, demonstrates the artist's pleasure in creating the group for the sake of the solution of purely artistic problems. There was no longer room for this typical ancient pleasure in material appearance. As will be demonstrated, this approach toward a solution of the modern problem of space was in the fourth century A.D. not entirely isolated; yet from the fifth century on, in explicitly late Roman art, there is no longer any trace of such inclinations. On the subject of the works of figurative art is predominantly related to the transcendental content and not so much to the material appearance of form as such. The change was not achieved by the christian perception per se, which gained final victory (because the late pagans belonged no less to the circle with the same ideas), but the stricter one-sided, ethical-dogmatic direction to which the christian world at the end of the fourth century A.D. began to incline. During the third century A.D. much was still doctrine, which was during the fourth at least tolerated, and ceased to exist during the christian world of the fifth century.

Among individual traits remarkable for fig. 23 are especially the diagonally cut and regulating curves and lined-up folds, as we know them from the pagan sarcophagi (fig. 16, 17). The heads appear in *Nahsicht* schematic and sketchy, yet, in optical perception from a particular distance they have an individual ornamental effect. The external movements are also rather reduced so that mainly the inner life is expressed in the figures; Pilate, who is looking sharply aside, reminds us, so to say, of the middle of the third century, to which time I would preferably place the creation of the whole, even though the sarcophagus may have been done a few decennia later. Contrapposti are by no means suppressed; in the same manner a change of the poses is searched, when two figures (above Moses as a contrappostical opposite to Abraham, below Christ healing the blind) are seen from behind in a three-quarter view. Also, the two portrait heads

are lacking that tendency toward a rigid crystalline frontal view, as it became common since Constantine. Their hair is not painstakingly sketched, but rendered in accordance with the manner of the third century A.D., sketched in freer layers; also the beards present an argument for a date before the time of Constantine under whom beardlessness became fashionable for noble persons. Closeness to the Constantinian epoch appears through the tendency toward complete transition of the figures from the ground into space, furthermore, through the inclination toward massiveness of the outlines, and the neglect of articulation within the extremities and nudity generally.

The concluding phase of the development of the discussed type of the sarcophagus is represented in fig. 24 (in the Museo Paolino) which one has, according to the traditional assumption, to date in the fifth century A.D. The composition of the spatial and isolated figures as a whole is, however, still entirely the one belonging to the Constantinian time; also, in detail we find here and there the same short and stocky modelling of the bodies of the figure, and within the folds, hair, and eyes we find still the well known *fernsichtig*, sketchy indication, though brought to the extreme. One sees this also in the images of portrait busts. Yet, there is a tangible decrease in the maintenance of the natural connecting plane relations (particularly proportions) of the parts among one another. Nowadays we describe this as non-beauty and crudeness. Unity is based as much on the pleasing factors of rhythm, line and shadows as it belongs to the pure sphere of thought about the religious idea of salvation, which connects the different scenes to a whole. The material appearance seems to have become just a medium in order to reach an external tendentious purpose. Content and form seem to us to fall apart, as material and spirit do in the late pagan and early christian perception; superiority seems for us to belong to the content over the form in art as the spirit does over the flesh in philosophy and religion.

According to all of this, it is most unlikely that any one of the Roman city sarcophagi, which are still following the Constantinian relief style, (these are almost all with the exception of the sarcophagus of Constantina) belong to the fifth century A.D. The only sarcophagi which can, with some security, be dated in the fifth century – the ones from the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, all three from the first half of that century – have on all reliefs only ornamental and symbolic motives, but no longer narrative figurative representations. I assume that also in Rome figurative sculpture in stone, as far as it contained religious content, ceased to exist from the time of Honorius on. The desire toward spiritual doctrine and inner refreshment, which took the place of the earlier artistic sense for monumental material appearance, is expressed better through the small ivory

diptychs (as in painting through the miniature pictures of the manuscripts) depicting cycles of biblical events related to salvation.

The « crudest » sarcophagi such as fig. 24 constitute at the same time for ancient sculpture the last remnants of that kind of art, which was called ancient impressionism. The purely optical perception could not be increased anymore unless one wanted to give up the ancient principle that art should originate in the individual shape. This last step was indeed not taken by late Roman art and as little by Byzantine art after iconoclasm; but late Roman art removed, as far as it was at all possible, completely the connecting relations on the plane between the objects (and their parts) thus opening the way for the space relations as a start and goal of all artistic composition.

Among the Roman city sarcophagi with christian content is another example in the Museo Paolino fig. 25 (from St. Peter's, Ficker, no. 174). The composition on the plane has divisions by columns, whereby the central interval is larger than the others; the centralistic idea expressed through this is also followed by the figures in that they turn toward Christ in the center (with the exception of the right side, where Christ appears again independently). In obvious contrast to this unified motion of the main figures stand the motions of the accompanying figures in the background, who again, with exception of the last but one scene on the right side maintain exactly the opposite direction by turning the head and with their gestures.

Clearer than anywhere else is here the cubic-spatial isolation of the foreground figure in each niche expressed through the fact that those figures do not just stand alone, but that also the accompanying figures of the background step forward with the one or other part beyond the limiting columns. The columns were intentionally made heavy and the intervals between deliberately narrow in order to express very drastically that the figures step forward out of the depths of space of the niches. The manner in which the servant pouring water into the bowl emerges from the depth, indicates the same actual artistic pleasure in the creation of space as we saw astonishingly in the Pilate group of the sarcophagus fig. 23.

In detail the figures are firmly and massively outlined, yet not without a remnant of feeling for the rhythmic line; the heads are much more expressive than the ones in fig. 23, yet perceived no less purely optically (the head of Pilate and the head of Peter on the second interval on the left side are modern additions; according to Benndorf, the Eubuleus-type is used for Christ). The drapery is dense and playful and represents thus a contrasting effect to the clear outlines of the figures as a whole so obviously searched for at the time; but, the tactile execution shows no such deeply engraved, shadowy furrows as we saw them generally so far

everywhere. The intended effect is indeed the same but the execution less sketchy; hence, this clear tactile mixture within the entire impression which this sarcophagus evokes in the beholder thus presenting itself as a transitional element between the Roman city sarcophagi and the ones from Ravenna.

Even more difficult than the date is the attribution to local places of production. The operation of this branch of art (as so many others in the late Roman period) must have been like a manufactory. This is the easiest explanation for the close stylistical and content relationship at least for the majority of sarcophagi from Gaul and the City of Rome. However, the problem of the artistic connection is here (as everywhere in this area) still to be investigated, because the publication of Le Blant (*Les sarcophages chrétiens, de la Gaule*) treated just the iconography and antiquarian aspect; and the volume of plates by Garrucci is insufficient even for the latter. I limit myself at this place to remarking that, for example, the sarcophagus Le Blant, (plate XVIII. 1) is close to the one of St. Paul's (fig. 23) and Le Blant (plate XVIII. 2) is close to the Junius Bassus sarcophagus; either one displays as it seems to me an increased flatness and sketchiness.

While the sarcophagi so far observed remain in the decisive point still essentially within the development of the middle Empire as it could be found under Constantine (even though many among those were made after Constantine), the sarcophagi from Ravenna show an entirely different picture. In order to name the most important aspect right away, the art as represented through the sarcophagi of Ravenna is no longer concerned with the representation of the individual figures in absolute cubic space separated through a shadowy sphere from the ground level. It assumes that the beholder is already aware of this and projects again the optically flattened figure on a wide, flat ground. As in the case of the sarcophagus of Constantina we have to perceive this as empty aerial space, yet, as ideal space per se and not as a cubically measurable section out of infinite space, because space exists as usually still for the sake of figures and not vice versa.

Also the composition continues to be, wherever possible, a strictly centralistic one and thus still a composition on the plane; and with just a few figures it appears thus sometimes almost like the old semitic « heraldic style ». Obviously here is revealed the same inclination which was preferred in christian architecture, the centralized building. This preference we have met one-sidedly in the Greek-east Roman part of the Empire. Ravenna was indeed since the fourth century A.D. Italy's gate to the Greek East.

As an example for this may serve the Rinaldus sarcophagus in the Cathedral of Ravenna (fig. 26). Here the new meaning of the ground level



and the ideal space is especially convincing, since particularly the upper terminating band, at which place still during the middle Empire the relief ground as such is kept, shows now a formation of clouds. These atmospheric phenomena, the more surprising on a stone relief, which one could find in the Roman Empire occasionally, but never in so « naturalistic » a manner as here, have nothing to do with the subject of representation, and can just have been chosen for the sake of artistic intention, and this just in order to let the upper band of the ground above the figure be characterized explicitly as space containing body. As far as the two palm trees are concerned, the problem remains whether they are an indication of a symbolic function or just an artistic intention to indicate landscape in free space. Among the individual traits are the following: the indication of three-dimensionality even in the objects which are most flat (for example, in the cross on the right side); the firm massive contours not just of the periphery of the entire figures, but also in the framing of individual partial planes, e.g., the beards (here in sharp contrast to the sketchy disintegrated modelling of beards during the middle Empire), the drapery with a few large tactically modelled and numerous small slightly engraved folds; the avoidance in observing the connecting plane relations (to which the proportions also belong) in contrast to the clarity of content of the narrated event, which is particularly expressed in the oversized hand of the outstretched right arm of Christ.

The most important symptom is particularly the return from the purely optical to the relative tactile perception recognizable in the drapery and beards. This is exactly parallel to the re-establishment of the ground level; yet, as little as the latter meant a return to the classical perception of the ground, the partial restoration of the tactile connections cannot be seen as a symptom for a turn away from the optical perception; whoever wants to be convinced, needs among other things just to look at the purely optically rendered sleeves of the two saints. These earliest reliefs from Ravenna are separated from the particularly late Roman of the following century through the relative exact observation at least of the most important connections on the plane; for example, the figures are still standing firmly on the ground, while from the fifth century on this most elementary plane relation is given up for the greater part and they seem with the tips of their toes to float above the ground.

The number of sarcophagi preserved from Ravenna is not small and it is foreseeable that one could show with them a development of late Roman sculpture at least for the first century of their existence. A solution of the problem has at this point not even begun because the chronological bases are at large missing. The names of the bishops coming down to us through inscriptions, which were written on the individual sarcophagi, can

be used for dates even less than the name of Junius Bassus for the city Roman sarcophagus. Considering the uncertainty of the date of the origin we have to limit ourselves today to a principal sketch of just the basic lines in the development under investigation.

Points at which to begin the investigation are the three sarcophagi from the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in which the empress herself and the emperor Honorius and Constantius III are supposed to be buried. If this tradition is correct (and this is supported through the fact that the sarcophagi were found in our days at that historically undoubted site where they partly are even now standing) then this produces the external iconographic symptom that the sarcophagus sculpture from the first half of the fifth century A.D. in Ravenna lacks all decoration with human figures. The reliefs of the walls of the sarcophagi are mainly composed with architectural ornaments and with some symbols through which they reveal a certain relationship with the sarcophagus of Constantina; even the concentrated, less elongated entire shape is at least shared with the latter by the Galla Placidia sarcophagus.

An entire group of other sarcophagi (particularly in San Apollinare in Classe) can be added to the mentioned character of decoration. The question is now, whether the sarcophagi with figurative scenes are to be dated before or after the ones just mentioned. Dating them at the same time is generally already not likely, because sarcophagi with figurative decorations have a richer appearance externally and one would not be able to explain why the emperor would have been denied, during the fifth century, something which the bishops and, as in the City Roman examples (Junius Bassus, Probus), also any layman was known to have had. Yet, at least one of the sarcophagi from Ravenna – the so-called Pignatta sarcophagus near the tomb of Dante – is dated in the third century A.D. Yet I see no reason to date it before the fourth century A.D. So much is certain, that it is closely connected with other figurative sarcophagi in Ravenna iconographically as well as artistically; and that the date of the entire group after the middle of the fifth century is not just improbable, but outright impossible.

The oldest figurative sarcophagus from Ravenna appears to be not the Pignatta sarcophagus, but the one of bishop Liberius in San Francesco in Ravenna (fig. 27). As columnar sarcophagus it stands immediately beside those of the City of Rome, but differs from them in that it has the columns reduced to engaged columns, and through its richer depiction of ground enclosing the figures all around, while in those Roman examples the figures always try to break through their frame. Here the heads of the figures reach into the arch of the corners of the niche, so that the spatial intention appears to be the same with the only difference that

on the sarcophagus in Ravenna (as the one of Constantina and Rinaldus) it was found to be unnecessary to depict especially around the figure the ground as space. The figures seem almost classical, strictly contrapposto in the clear, almost large drapery of the cloths, under which the sculpture appears to be expressed clearly, but still without harshness. The modelling of the individual folds appears to be related to the ones on the Junius Bassus sarcophagus. A lucky occasion is that in the same church of San Francesco a later copy of the Liberius sarcophagus (fig. 28) is preserved which differs from its prototype particularly in the following elements indicating the progress of development: increased flatness and massiveness in the outlines among whole figures; decreased observation of the connecting relations on the plane, and especially of the proportions; depiction of richer but flatter folds; one-sided emphasis of individual parts, particularly of the eyes; a harsher surfacing of the extremities under the basic cover, sloppy treatment of the contrapposto.

The sarcophagus of Liberius constitutes thus in Ravenna in a similar manner the beginning of late Roman relief sculpture as the Constantina sarcophagus does in Rome, the origin of the latter should rather be searched for in an East Roman workshop. Concerning the date of origin one would like to place the sarcophagus of Liberius before the one from Santa Costanza, perhaps (though less probably) even before Constantine, as we generally have reason to assume for the process of development in the Greek East a faster pace as it is the case in the predominantly passive artistic context of Italy. Hence we would have to place the remaining sarcophagi of Ravenna decorated with figures (among those we already mentioned sarcophagi of Pignatta and Rinaldus as well as the Isaac sarcophagus with the Adoration of the Magi in the Museum of Ravenna following next in time and being the most pleasing examples for the modern beholder) between Constantine and Honorius, whereby we cannot exclude the origin of some late comers for the fifth century A.D. While in the three just mentioned sarcophagi the rising medieval perception of relief still seems to be in combat with the classical one, it became in other examples (such as the Barbatianus and Exuperantius sarcophagus in the Cathedral in Ravenna) already victorious. The sarcophagi which are decorated with symbols of ornaments are thus to be attributed to the fifth century and partially to the time of Justinian. The results, as they may be reached from the investigation for the search of the process of development from the fifth century A.D. or, will be discussed at a later place. Here, where we deal first of all with the beginnings of late Roman art during the fourth century A.D., we may just glance at the decoration of the earlier sarcophagi of Ravenna. Fig. 29 shows the side of the sarcophagus of the (later) Archbishop Theodore; the thick, fleshy stems of the tendrils (massiveness

of outlines) as well as the curves breaking through the circular shape, (an intentional emergence of a connection which deviates from a geometric-natural one), the clear outlines of the geometrically composed flowers, the no less clear and harshly stylized feathers of the birds; these are all signs which we saw on the sarcophagus of Constantina. The framing leaf kyma has with the shadowy hollows still the inanimated «ridges», which Roman art since the early Empire in an explicitly optical intention in all similar cases was anxious to include (particularly between the individual cubic dentals). The vase, out of which the cross rises, teaches us through its opening in bird's-eye view that the artist added more importance to the objective indication of three-dimensional space of the individual shape generally than to the naturalistic copy of connecting relations on the plane between neighboring parts. The front (fig. 30) of the neighboring sarcophagus which belongs, however, probably at the end of the fourth century A.D. (because it does not include anymore figures) represents the wine leaves stylized in the manner of the acanthus leaves having the edges which were formerly drilled reduced to sharper isolated spikes; in this point is again revealed to us the return from a purely optical to a particularly tactile perception, as we saw it earlier in similar cases (figs 3, 4 compare also fig. 54).

As representative of another type of sepulchral sculpture in stone may be mentioned here the tomb relief of the bust of a young girl (fig. 31) from Salona which is now in the museum in Split; paleographic reasons do not allow us to place its origins before 300 A.D. or after 400 A.D. One can judge the perception of the head better in connection with the discussion of portrait heads in the round from the same time. At this place are pointed out just the engraved folds on the chest-part of the garment and the no less engraved ornaments in the two decorative stripes running down from both shoulders: rich ornaments of tendrils among which is characteristic the lack of any independent ground (from which space takes the place in linear hollow furrows). The same is true for the leaves and the grapes which were composed within the pediment and the two triangular arched corners. The shadows which we saw still in fig. 13 between the leaves (and tendrils) in a changing width are here reduced to simple lines. Also in this appears to be expressed an important side of late Roman art development.

Among jewelry works with figurative relief of the fourth century there became known just recently the most peculiar example which, according to its style (not necessarily also according to its origin), belongs to the middle Empire, but which should be mentioned here because it is able as none else to bring clarification about the positive (non-barbaric) principal character of the then existing artistic creation. It is the silver

casket published by Hans Graeven in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* (1899 p. 1 ff.). It comes from San Nazaro in Milan, where it was donated as a reliquary shrine probably by St. Ambrose towards the end of the fourth century A.D. That its origin for stylistic and iconographic reasons has to be earlier than the one of St. Ambrose was said already by Graeven, who did, however, not date it earlier than the time of Constantine. Also with our estimate one will never want to date it earlier than Diocletian.

The composition of the cover with its external and internal centralization (fig. 32) recalls immediately the Constantinian relief (fig. 7). The embossed figures here could not be separated from the ground through undercuts and are, for that reason, like the figures of the Diocletian reliefs (fig. 18 and 19) in the periphery outlined with sharp engraved furrows. The entirely quick and sketchy treatment (e.g. of the feet) is, even from the viewpoint of modern critique, masterly. I do not know any relief in antiquity which would connect with such a purely optical perception such a considerable remnant of ancient animated beauty. Added to this is obviously a striving towards inner spiritual animation, which reaches almost the baroque. The turn of the heads as in the figure to the left of the middle, beside the outstretched right arm of Christ, have indeed prototypes in Caracalla and other portrait heads of the third century, but leave them far behind themselves. Here appears also repeatedly the gesture of *adlocutio* with outstretched three fingers, becoming a general later phenomenon in early christian art; in the later ivory reliefs and miniature pictures he addresses with this inexpressive schematic composition almost exclusively the interpretive experience of the intellect; here meaning is still brought to the beholder in an ancient manner through immediate artistic means of the material appearance, which means through pose and facial expression of the named figure. Most remarkable of all appears to us the impression of a free distribution within aerial space created here by the figure. This depends on the fact that the figures in the background are visible beyond their head, and that this increase is indicated just with unrelated sketchy lines, and that generally towards the background the heads lose size and clarity of detail. If the head of the apostle in the far back of the right-hand side were not represented unproportionally large and if the build of figures were not so steep, one would indeed be tempted to believe the artist would have (according to the principle of modern art) taken a certain amount of space to begin with for his relief picture and would have distributed within that space the figures according to the linear and aerial perspective. Also in this respect as in the Pilate group of the sarcophagus from St. Paul's (fig. 23), ancient art came very close in its optical concluding phase to modern art. The other sides of the casket could also lead to numerous inspirations for

discussion, which we have to suppress here in order to move toward the investigation of another type of monument of no less importance.

Ivory was favored for the *Kunstwollen* of the end of antiquity for several reasons: first, it was highly qualified for narrative small sculpture and it possessed a flickering shine on the polished surface. Among the diptychs of the fourth century there are none that are securely dated. Among those which, on indirect proof, are placed in that century we have to be content with only the most important observations in just a few examples. Generally the change in style from middle Roman to late Roman was achieved quickly in ivory. It is even obvious in some explicitly pagan monuments of this kind such as on the diptych in Liverpool representing Asclepius and Hygieia. Its heavy, massive entire treatment and the flat relief on the free spatial ground maintains all pagan pleasure in beautiful and lovely pose. – Outrightly classical is the relief of the Symmachorum – Nicomachorum diptych in the Museum in Kensington and the Hotel Cluny; however, here a unique and also rather strange testimony of intended artistic reaction also did not lack political flavor, according to all that we know about the public position and the pagan activity of the two mentioned City-Roman families at the end of the fourth century A.D. Nobody knowledgeable can be misled as far as its true time of origin goes through the painstakingly copied tactile folds of the draped figures on this diptych. Finally, the diptych of the Roman vicar Rufius Probianus (in Berlin) has to be mentioned (interiors of miniature paintings during the fourth and fifth centuries are always; flat i.e., closer to the plane depicted), because it places itself, so to say, beside the Pilate group from San Paolo and the silver relief from Milan in an attempt to represent the enthroned vicar in an enclosed interior of unusual depth with perspectively foreshortened lateral walls. The engraved outlines of the figures let the diptych essentially appear as still belonging to the middle Roman style. It thus dates approximately between 250 and 350 A.D. after the tactile perception was completely overcome and before the decisive transition toward the absolute negation of all tactile connections of cubic spatial individual shapes toward the exterior took place in the late Roman manner, which offered the most favorable preconditions for that approximation of the ancient to the modern feeling of space.

Before we move to the discussion of the development in the fifth century A.D. with the help of dated monuments, we may, considering the rarity of the material coming under consideration, raise the question to be answered quickly: now much do monuments of sculpture in the round of the fourth century A.D. confirm the image gained through contemporary relief sculpture? We can see without difficulty that it was not a coincidence that there are just a few monuments in the round preserved from that

time, but that for underlying reasons there were generally not many of this kind created; indeed, one may even hope that in this case, the deeper reasons, in spite of the materialistic aversion of the last thirty years to the validity of intellectual factors in the visual arts, will be recognized as a conflict between the late pagan – christian *Weltanschauung* and the preceding Near Eastern pagan and classical – pagan one. The valiant early christians were not the first to protest against the nonsense of materializing the idea of the divine through a statue. Varro and Seneca had already done so and Neo-platonism elevated this position to something common to all educated men in the Empire. With such consideration it is useful to look at the role of sculpture in the round in early christian art. One would find it quite understandable if, from the beginning, the christians had sharply emphasized their opposition to the pagans through total abandonment of sculpture in the round. Nonetheless, we find in the third as well as in the fourth century christian monuments in the round; just from the fifth century on they are missing (similar to figurative sarcophagus sculpture). Even more so, early christian art visualized the Divine Salvator in stone and seemingly limited the sculpture in the round generally to this (externally really pagan) personification of the eternal; indeed, the (very incompletely preserved) statue of Hippolytos in the Museo Paolino constitutes a very unique exception from the beginning of the third century, which means from a time where the establishment of dogmas had just begun; and the bronze statue of St. Peter in St. Peter's in Rome cannot according to all artistic criteria (in spite of the fact that observers as G. Wilpert and H. Grisar just recently advocated again its Constantinian origin) be seen as a work from the end of antiquity at all. It is helpful here to look at the development of the Good Shepherd statues in early christian art. The two oldest examples (and others published together with them in the *Bulletino Comunale*, 1889) come still from the third century. They show not just a particular remnant of tactile shaping in nude elements and in the drapery, but also a longing, soulful view upwards, which demonstrates an immediate translation of inner spiritual motion into external, momentary transient material appearance (familiar to us already from the silver casket, fig. 32, from Milan).<sup>38</sup> We have found the same tendency at the same time

38) This pleasure of the middle Roman artist in presenting to the beholder spatially full figures from all sides and especially from behind was followed in a remarkable manner by the master of the so-called Marcus Aurelius reliefs of the Arch of Constantine; it is not done by chance, but based on a certain parallel in the *Kunstwollen*, if it reminds us of the Italian Quattrocento, and it is most instructive to see in which way the two means of expression, in spite of the indicated relationship, differ basically (particularly in their relation to the free aerial space which the Roman

also in pagan monuments such as the portrait heads with the penetrated side view displaying a thrilling momentary effect. In the later replicas of the Good Shepherd, which belong to the greater part to the fourth century and show particularly in the treatment of the hair and drapery an extreme optical perception, everything is removed which could be interpreted as the material expression of spiritual motion. Any assumption that the marble would have been capable of bearing spiritual life is now avoided. To the supplementary idea, to the experience alone it is left to come from the quick sketchy and memorized picture of the figure of the Good Shepherd to the notion of an immaterial Savior divinity. And from the fifth century realization of the Eternal. The actual heirs of the late Romans-early christians — the Byzantines — have not even today overcome this.

As far as profane sculpture in the round goes during the fourth century A.D. we naturally look first for the statues and busts of emperors, because those would present a firmer support for dating. It is not by coincidence that the lack of ascertained portraits of emperors, which is already in the second half of the third century in comparison to the preceding time remarkable, increases during the fourth century. Strictly speaking, there exists not even for the members of the Constantinian house an absolutely secured example of sculpture in the round; yet one may consider the statue of the Great Constantine in the Museo Paolino to be authentic and the one of the same emperor and his son Constantine on the balustrade of the Capitol as likely to be their portrait as is the marble head, which Professor Peterson recently (in the *Atti dell'Accademia Pontificia Romana*, Seria II, Tom. VII, 159-182) claimed as the head of an acrolith colossal statue of Constantine the Great and the bronze head (fig. 33) which the same scholar (at the same place) recognizes as a later descendant of the Constantinian house. The characteristics of all of these heads are the following: clear and harsh and as little as possible organized outlines of a massive entity and the parts (e.g., the delineation of the lips, eyebrows and eyelids) while maintaining unclear spongy treatment of the planes of the detail; the hair above the forehead (and the hair of the brows) is brought into a thick massive roll, but it is in detail hatched densely; the position of the head is strictly frontal (as the frontality of the Near-Eastern and the archaic Greek statues) without the characteristic turn to the sides belonging to the portrait-heads of the third century; the view is indeed still a bit from the middle directed sideways and upwards, but without inner fire; the drapery of the garment appears

relief emphatically ignored and which the Italian within certain limitations already treats as equal to the material figures).

39) Also the well known Pyxis in Berlin could be compared in this respect.



pasted, (crowded on one plane) like wet cloth the hollows in between the flat planes of the folds appear as deeply furrowed lines, which, however, do not (as in classical drapery) run as far as the lower seam but end above it (in the middle of the plane) with a very shadowy groove obviously intended to create an optical, colorful rather than a tactile effect.

Among the imperial portraits of the fourth century there is, besides the members of the Constantinian House, almost none preserved, which even with probability could be brought in connection with particular names; the so-called Julian of the Capitoline Museum, known through several examples, is by no means a work of the fourth century, and cannot readily be attributed to the Roman Empire. Also doubts concerning the represented person leave the statue in Barletta identified formerly as Heraclius, but now definitely correctly named Theodosius. Therefore, a few anonymous portraits may serve to illustrate here the end of the development.

The so-called Magnus Decentius (according to Helbig's assumption Valens) in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 34) shows already the almost rigid crystallization: we see symmetrical shaping of the head, a look straight forward, suppression of all fine modelling; for example, on the forehead which, in the Constantinian portrait, is still furrowed; also typical are the sharply cut lips, highly arched eyebrows, and the hair wrapped again in a symmetrical mass, but in detail finely hatched similar to the eyebrows. The eyelids are sharply emphasized, the pupils are large and overemphasized moving in parts under the upper lid, but without inner life. Everywhere appears sharp and cold clarity.

The so-called Constantine in the Louvre (fig 35), identified without doubt as an emperor through the diadem, shows all the mentioned qualities and an increase in the treatment of the eyes, which are here no longer executed like a crescent, as was the case since Marcus Aurelius in all Roman portraits of emperors, observing the spotlight on the iris, but are circular hollows standing motionless in the middle of the eyeball. Thus, for the modern beholder, the last spark of inner spiritual life seems to be banned, the function of the eye to be degraded to a purely materialistic look characteristic of the portrait figures of the Old Kingdom in Egypt. After an interruption of a thousand years there would have come again a time where harmony was found between the suppression of all spiritual impulses in the external appearance of the matter, in which one looked only for a crystalline beauty lacking spirit and life. Yet one would err in this respect. Indeed, to a great part the right understanding of the rising christian art depends on the fact that one clarifies the difference between the old Near Eastern-Archaic and the late Roman flattening and despiritualization. Old Near Eastern figures have at places where they are not colored (and that is in all colored species of stones which are during the New Kingdom

in Egypt generally the rule) the eyeball sculpted in its plastic form, but the iris, the actual «mirror of the soul» is not indicated, which is to a great extent the basis for this appearance of a lack of spirituality and life that these figures impress upon us. Late Roman art, however, did not surpass the iris, but to the contrary, brought it to a more effective validity. The extreme and at the same time final result of this process is reached in some heads on the diptychs from the beginning of the sixth century and through the portrait head of the so-called Amalasuntha in the Conservatori Palace, where the iris is simply cut as a huge circular hole in the eyeball, which naturally attracts immediately the view of the beholder. Hence it is entirely clear and without doubt that late Roman art, for the challenge to evoke in the beholder a memory of the inner spiritual life of the human, wished the significance of the eye not to be eliminated, but to the contrary, to be stronger and more emphatically emphasized than ever imagined in antiquity. Seeing the enormously wide opened eyes in late Roman figures, one is immediately aware that those are, so to say, the main element of the figure inasmuch as the soul, the mirror of which the eye is, constituted according to late pagan-christian perception, the main element in comparison to the material body of the human. Yet the goal was the visualization of spiritual life per se, and not of some kind of individual emotion within it. Inasmuch as the bodily appearance, the three-dimensional isolation of the individual figure in space, and not its placement at a definite point in space, was the goal, so the goal of art in late antiquity was concerning its spiritual appearance the general ability of the human being to be able to establish relations generally and not the one or the other individual relation <sup>40</sup>.

The Constantinian portrait heads may essentially still be attributed to middle Roman art, yet as representatives of its last concluding phase. Indeed, one may go even further and say that the portrait statue, even all figures in the round, could never be entirely assimilated to the nature of

40) From that point of view is explained most obviously the nature of the type, which later in East Roman art found its perfection – the new ideal of this ancient art of the epigones. It is based on the emancipation of space and the spiritual inner life relating to the classical ideal. This is based essentially on the immediate visual appearance of objects on the visual plane in as much as antithesis relates to thesis; out of the synthesis of both ideals grew our own modern art. A male portrait head found in Rome and which comes from the transition between the middle and the late Roman period was published by me in the *Helbig-Festschrift (Sirena Helbigiana, Leipzig, 1899)*; the female counterpart to this head is the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Arndt's publication plate 57). The male head in the Magazzino Archaeologico next to San Gregorio in Rome (the fourth room at the rear wall toward the fifth room, right-hand side on the lower shelf, the fourth head from the right) shows a relationship with the so-called Decentius head in the Capitol discussed above (Fig. 34).

late Roman art, because it was not allowed to neglect ever entirely the relation to the plane which was principally neglected by the latter.

Just to quote one example: late Roman painting and even late Roman relief let the figures float above the ground with the feet downward and without a firm relation to the ground; the round figure has to be firmly placed on a ground with its feet. Also, the memory of intellectual events in the life of a human being desired by late Roman art had with the figure in the round a shape of too strongly repressive tactile materiality, in which the relations of the parts among one another and to the whole were not just an indication, but were to be seen as reality. This is the reason for the abandonment of sculpture in the round in late Roman times, where such works exist just as anachronistic late-comers occasionally following cultural tradition – the reason which is outright identical with the one mentioned before (derived from the change in the general *Weltanschauung*).

Thus is explained why the few rather profane statues (with the exception of the portrait of the emperor), the origin of which can be attributed with certainty to the fourth century A.D., still adhere in their essential traits to the middle Roman style. To be mentioned here are particularly the two statues representing consuls throwing the mappa in the Conservatori Palace of the Capitol. The figure of the younger among the two (reproduced in figure 36) carries all signs of Constantinian relief figures. In a rectangular massiveness the entire figure is represented outlined through as much as possible inarticulated straight lines; in opposition to this, the surface is patterned using any means available through dense, yet shallow folds. Furthermore, the entire image is, so to say, flattened as the almost archaically plaited folds in the lower seam of the gown prove. Also, in accordance with the extreme *Fernsicht* it is limited as much as possible to just one plane, the intention of which is here particularly and understandably expressed through the artificial motion of the right arm. Statuary art has thus turned, again, toward the pre- and early Greek tendency though the figures are moving on the plane, which is to the right and left, they are not moving into depth. Yet the basic difference is that the figures present themselves now as space-filling and surrounded by aerial space. Inasmuch as they may appear to be spirited, but not individually moved, so they appear to be filling deep space, but not altering deep space. They direct a fixed, straight view toward the beholder; yet, their bodily movements go to the right or left, and just when they are completely calm (fig. 26, 32) then they are turning not just the face but also the full frontal view of the entire body to the beholder. However, the head is still, according to the Constantinian (middle Roman) manner, slightly turned to the side and also the view is turned a little away from the middle. Concerning the engraving of the folds below the chest and at the lower end of the (double)

garment the observation made concerning Constantinian drapery is to be recalled; the same is true for the superficially, finally etched treatment of the massive hair-roll above the forehead as we learned sufficiently from portrait heads. Finally, there is still the neglecting treatment of the contrapposto and especially the harsh protrusion of the left knee under the cover of the garment, the latter serving as a purely external emphasis (clarification) of the tactile element for the same *Kunstabsicht* as the severe and harsh inarticulated outlines of the entire figure and its most important parts.

For our knowledge of the development of the reliefs (and sculpture generally) of the time between Theodosius and Justinian, the well dated ivory consular diptychs constitute such a precious substratum because any other substitute for it is entirely missing; the best confirmation is presented by the uncertainty of dates over three centuries for other late Roman monuments, which possess no outer indication for their placement in time <sup>41</sup>.

The oldest preserved is the Probus diptych in Aosta (fig. 37); from the year 406 A.D. According to the perception the relation between the three-dimensional isolated figure and the ideal ground of space, as first observed in the sarcophagus of Constantina, and then in three sarcophagi of emperors from Ravenna belonging to the first half of the 5th century, represents as an entirely flat relief the emperor Honorius in the old imperial costume (the so-called garment of Achilles) under a pillared arcade. Already the first sight shows that the figure possesses « style », which means that it expresses a vague particular *Kunstwollen*, which seems to be presented with greatest security, even though this *Kunstwollen* may be very different from our own modern one. Looking at this figure it will be clear first of all that it is still the outline, which gives the whole its artistic character; even the contrapposto is here kept up to a certain degree. Yet the outlines are in spite of the saved remnant of rhythm not meant to produce a lively articulation of the entire body, but to the contrary meant to outline the mass as clearly as possible and as nearly parallel as possible. Head, torso, and legs thus appear in a spongy, bloated shape, in which especially a remembrance of the connecting joints (in arm and hand, knee, toes, etc.)

41) The following section about the profane diptych would have had certainly better results if I had had the publication, which is under preparation, for monuments of this kind. I hope that the move of the editor, Hans Graeven who uniquely qualified for this responsibility, to his position in Hanover, will not delay the publication of that *Corpus Diptychorum*; yet, there is no substitute for the loss occurred through Mr. Graeven's leave from such important Roman positions in German research as one will certainly feel in the circles interested in the art history of the early Middle Ages.

is lost. Also the proportions (for example, of the feet) are no longer observed in the old manner in accordance with their natural average size.

The treatment of the hair is generally Constantinian, but shows a further regression toward the tactile side in that the finely etched roll above the forehead is now clearly subdivided into a number of rectangular bushels. The treatment of the ornament of the archivolt with its observed return from the extreme optical-sketchy to a half tactile perception is the same as on the Liberius sarcophagus in Ravenna.

2. The Felix Diptychon (fig. 38) from the year 428 A.D. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris<sup>(17)</sup>. The consul is standing in absolute frontal view looking straight ahead at the beholder and avoiding with his spread legs any contrapposto; instead, head and torso are, again, brought into one axis, and thus the material tranquility and rigidity of the ancient Near Eastern-Archaic frontality is reinstituted. The arms are clasped closely to the body and even the sceptre in the left hand of the consul is held so vertically that the entire figure constitutes an as vertically placed quadrangle as possible. The hands are lacking any indication of joints; the feet are stuck in shapeless (which means inarticulated) shoes. Particularly to be emphasized is the downward position (bird's-eye view) of the feet without which the ground below would be visible. While all during antiquity since the Egyptians it was the first concern of art to place the figure firmly on the ground, the relation with the plane is now obviously given up below and this will remain a characteristic element of late Roman, and also Byzantine and Italian art until Giotto. Yet the bird's-eye view, in which the feet are presented intends to express their three-dimensional enclosed space (and also of the entire figure to which they belong).

In contrast to the straight line and simple outlines of the whole, the entire surface of the drapery is covered with an engraved pattern of rosettes circumscribed by circles. The quickly sketched head is still not without a particular animation. The few folds of the figure and of the drapes are all indicated with deeply cut, that means isolating furrows on the flat surface. Even the egg and dart of the edges are flat. On the left lower side of the level ground a palmette is cut in a characteristic relief *en creux*; it would be interesting to know for what reason this motif was attached. That it is a work begun, but not completed, is demonstrated through the format, which is in one half completely jagged and the in other just indicated through outlines. The outer appearance thus speaks for the assumption that one wanted to produce a patterned background for the figure. We know, indeed, such patterned backgrounds for figurative representation, but only from the tenth century on, for example, the Egbert Codex; but, the unavoidable precondition for this (the meaning of the ground as ideal

space) existed since the beginning of late Roman art during the fourth century, furthermore, the ornaments of the background (so called carpet patterns) for the figures of the Evangelists in the Egbert Codex are of explicitly late East-Roman origin. Direct testimony for the existence of patterned background which is none other than a special case in mass composition during late Roman art of the fifth century we will get to know among the crafts of that time <sup>42</sup>.

3. The Boethius diptych (fig. 39) in Brescia from the year 487 A.D. follows the two diptychs already mentioned in the main stylistic elements. Whatever detail one may look at, one will observe not crudeness but to the contrary, care and reflection in the execution. Whoever looks carefully at the shaping of the drapery folds will be surprised to find most detailed natural observations. If in spite of this the entire impression is rather anything else but animated beauty, this is so caused by the neglect of the relations on the plane, while the space relations which are intended to replace them, create only spatial isolation, but not connection of the parts. (Examples of deficient planar relations: the harsh unrhythmical outlines, the suppression of joints, the disproportionate emphasis of individual parts, such as the eyes). This impression cannot be overcome by all the care in the shaping of the folds, not because we would expect the folds to be objectively tactile, but rather as being an optical experience in space which devours one part of the folds by the means of light and the other by the means of shadow.

4. The Basilius diptych (fig. 40) in the Uffizi is usually dated in the year 541 A.D. and thus considered to be the last in number; yet H. Graeven demonstrated in the *Röm. Mitt.* 1892 that also this diptych probably belonged to the end of the fifth century. Just with the slimmer entire

42) Compare pp. 33, 153, plate XVI.2. Also here we seem to recognize the return of an ancient characteristic of the primitive stage of development in ancient art: the filling ornaments of archaic vases. Those were individual shapes rising directly from the ground, and equal among one another, as well as with the figures in between; the individual motives of late Roman background patterns, are however, reciprocally dependent on one another and subordinated to the main figure, through which the new mass composition is revealed. The oldest example with figurative (vegetative) motives (not with ornaments) of a patterned background is the Adelpheia sarcophagus in the Museum of Syracuse (illustrated in J. Führer, *Forschungen zur Roma sotterranea* plate XII), which I can mention only in passing, because I did not have the opportunity to investigate the original. The perception of relief is here altogether Constantinian; the ground level, pushed behind a narrow spatial sphere of the foreground, appears decorated with red flowers and green branches. Thus one encounters an explicit mass composition.

proportions and the schematically draped, straight-lined folds the figure of the consul shows a development that goes beyond the Boethius diptych; the figures in Byzantine reliefs after iconoclasm relate to either one, but they no longer show the folds engraved and cut rather than narrowly plaited, through which further regression of the tactile perception is revealed. Special attention should be given to small reliefs below with the representation of chariot races taking place in the space around the center. The scenes on these latest dated diptychs – representing circus-life with chariot races, animal hunts, jugglers, etc. – are not only attractive from the viewpoint of cultural history but they also have artistic value not to be overseen because these small figures are usually represented with large optical faithfulness and accurately sketched. Together with the watching crowd in the semicircular arena they constitute rows of figures (for example, in the Anastasius diptych in Berlin from the year 517, A.D. fig. 41) <sup>(18)</sup> in six lines among which the figures furthest in background are represented as large and project as boldly from the relief as the ones in the utmost foreground. The relief of these small figures is seemingly a high relief because it maintained the same height as the large figures of the consul above; in reality it is also a low relief which is supported by high, vertical crutches: it is another proof that this late Roman relief is no longer rising from the flat ground level, but to be imagined moving free and three dimensionally in space. Naturally we have to look at these as the main driving elements, according to all that was said about the six different levels of placement behind one another (which is the pleasure to produce overlaps as means of visualizing the space of the individual figures while neglecting at the same time the corresponding planar relations). The placement behind one another is still always a placement above one another – but no longer for reasons which were valid in antiquity, but out of indifference in regard to the connection of the figures with the ground.

It is a natural consequence of the optical perception in the visual arts that the details of figures in their tactile nature become less clear as the proportions became smaller. This results in the continued attention given to miniature figures such as the ones in figs. 40 and 41, below, which had eventually to lead to the silhouette. There is no lack of such silhouette figures even in late Roman stone sculpture: particularly animalic figures and symbolic motives on sarcophagi from Ravenna come very close to the silhouette; so called coptic tombstones (mostly Greek works of the seventh century A.D. in Egypt, compare figs. 43, 44) show the silhouette mannerism in human figures and in ornaments. Yet it seems to have gained even greater importance in painting; here one finds it already around 500 A.D. in the Vienna Dioscurides (Erotes as representatives of the arts in the corners in between the entangled circles and the frame of the dedication picture)

and it shows its distributions still in the copies of the Carolingian time (for example, the tabernacle from Autun).

Thus we have reached within the development of the relief the reign of Justinian. For the two centuries until the time of Charlemagne the Great there is missing completely a connecting chain of dated monuments from the area of the Mediterranean nations. This period of iconoclasm did not lack to a certain degree progress in development, and there may even be preserved a sufficient number of monuments hitherto unpublished to demonstrate that development in detail. We may not try to implement such an attempt because the great changes and innovations, at least among the Mediterranean nations, took place during the time of Justinian; and, even though one can perceive the last two centuries before Charlemagne the Great not as an absolute standstill — which is impossible *a priori* — but, as a very slow progression of development in all the ethical and aesthetic fields. From the middle of the sixth century on the interests of the scholarship in art turns overwhelmingly to the arts of the previous West Roman Empire now occupied by the barbarians.

Byzantine art, as one sees it after iconoclasm, is still late Roman art, which presents the figures (and part of the figures) principally in their spatial isolation on the plane and in addition (and here lies — even though essentially just quantitative — the difference to pre-Carolingian late Roman art) it admits to a more decisive degree the observation of relations with the plane. The great change in the perception of the relief ground — as ideal spatial ground in place of the neutral material plane of antiquity — was already victoriously achieved and the new perception was already an integral part of the Mediterranean nations; perception of the individual figure now could again become to a certain degree a *nahsichtig* tactile one. Hence the more exact proportions, the definite regular composition of the parts (the « beauty » of the head types), the tactically plaited folds drawn in a strightlined clarity. It would be instructive to demonstrate how among those attempts one could summarize on one side the remarkable renaissance of archaic classical Greek art, which particularly in the ornaments, once in a while led to actual copies of the fourth and third century B.C. and to show on the other side the clearly demonstrated imitation of painting from the Roman Empire; yet these events occur already beyond the boundaries set for our observation. About the two century long period between Justinian and Charlemagne the Great one can say with certainty that to a much higher degree than it was ever the case it looked exclusively for immaterial values in a work of art. At a time when Islam rose and when in the east of the Roman Empire iconoclasm raged, the christian perception of culture came to a considerable degree close to the jewish, which had declared a competition with organic nature generally as not permissible



and adverse to harmony, which means that it declared the imitation of living beings in the creative arts non-artistic. It is obvious that one cannot expect from such a time the engagement of a rising positive *Kunstwollen* in sculpture and painting to a considerable degree, even though this cannot be denied entirely (as was already earlier emphatically said) even for this time.

The image gained through our observation of consular diptychs between Theodosius and Justinian for the development of the relief is confirmed through other more or less securely dated monuments. Already mentioned was the silhouette-like character of at least one part of the ornaments and symbols on the sarcophagi of Ravenna during the fifth century. The silver shield of Aspar from the year 434 A.D. in the Uffizi with its flatly embossed figures turns out to be closely related to the Probus diptych (in the « Achilles » figure on the left) and also to the Felix diptych (in the draped figure of Aspar).

Among the dated consular diptychs the ones of the fifth century A.D. are by all means to be related to City Roman consuls, while those of the sixth century with one single exception relate to consuls from Constantinople. Yet is one allowed to use following dated West Roman diptychs East Roman ones in order to demonstrate the subsequent development of the former? In other words, is the development in the west and east of the Empire after Theodosius still essentially the same? The answer is fortunately offered through a singular preserved West Roman exception among all otherwise East Roman consular diptychs of the sixth century: it is the one of Orestes from the year 530 A.D. and it coincides in style and content exactly with the East Roman one of Clementinus from the year 513 A.D. Thus one is certain that one and the same *particular* type of diptych was appreciated in Rome as well as in Constantinople to the same degree. In comparison to this the question is of secondary importance, whether the preserved examples were made in Rome or in Constantinople or on West or East Roman soil.

Analogous phenomena can also be demonstrated in the field of painting. Thus Wickhoff published (in the XIV. volume of the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Österreichischen Kaiserhauses*) two manuscripts which originated around 600 A.D. and which are in one volume of the Vienna Court Library; they are identical in style and content of the ornaments, and are a Greek gospel and a Latin Rufinus. The assumption in this case was that the East and West Roman reader would appreciate the same ornamental art forms and colors. Thus are gained secure results: there was no unsurmountable barrier between the East and West Roman *Kunstwollen* at least during the time of Justinian. Here and there indeed a late Roman art dominated, still uniform in essential points with its ten-

dency toward a spatial isolation of the individual shape on the visual plane. But has this basic character insufficient room for a differentiation between East and West?

Thus we are confronted with the discussion of the question, which in the widest sense one used to call the « Byzantine » question. From the time of Charlemagne the Great on there is no doubt about the existence of a specific Byzantine art with Byzantium as the center of creation and between the ninth and twelfth century A.D. a Byzantine question can only be whether Byzantine art during that time exercised any influence on the Occident.

It was different during the pre-Carolingian time: here we have foremost to raise the question, whether within the art defined by use as late Roman there existed a special East Roman variant, which can be differentiated from the West Roman one; besides that can the question be raised (which was standing hitherto always in the foreground), if West Rome was influenced by Byzantium between Constantine and Charlemagne the Great. To discuss the polemics in regard to the various « solutions » of the « question », which were hitherto (usually with a greater determination and conviction than the arguments) presented, can be done here even less, since the discussion was in this respect conducted exclusively with iconographic arguments. This had to undoubtedly produce as result that in late Roman art there can be found a number of iconographic variants, which later on from the ninth century were used by Byzantine, but not by christian art in the Occident. One cannot contest the antiquarian importance of such iconographic investigations; yet for the history of art they constitute first just the value of an auxiliary field in that they helped to determine the external placements of location and time. The iconographic content is indeed entirely different from the artistic one; the function (directed toward certain notions) which serves the first is external like the utilary function of crafts and architectural works, while the actual artistic function is directed only to represent the objects in outline and color on the plane or in space in such a manner that they evoke the redeeming appreciation of the beholder.

Truly art historical value can iconographic determination just gain at the point when it is demonstrated that it expresses the same *Wollen* which shapes the real *bildkünstlerische* side of the work of art — the material appearance — in that and no other way. There is no doubt that between the notions, which the human being wishes to see visualized, in work of art, and the manner in which the visual media (the figures) are to be perceived, an inner close connection exists. As soon as one has demonstrated this connection between the East Roman variant and the late Roman iconography on one side and the Byzantine particularities in the obser-

vation of the composition on the plane and space of the figures on the other side, then the investigation, becomes of a truly clarifying value, which had hitherto just antiquarian importance for the history of development in the visual arts. Since the iconographers have not yet attempted to consider this precondition we have to limit ourselves to the discussion of the closer question concerning purely *bildkünstlerische* factors and whether a difference can be found here between the East and West Roman nuances in late Roman art.

This is the place where architecture can perform for us pioneering services. As the first chapter showed, there originated among the Greeks at least two *baukünstlerische* systems: the basilica, which eliminated a connection between the core of the building (central nave) with the ground level by creating deep space (as seen with the eyes of a modern beholder) the immeasurable third dimension of which did away with the basic condition of all effects connected with the plane — the absolute proportion; secondly, a centralized one, which did not want to give away equal measurements in all three dimensions and thus also the connection with the visual plane, at least externally. The West Romans took for their sacred architecture only the former system. Thus we can expect that, at least in ecclesiastical relief sculpture, the West Romans expressed also an isolation toward depth and that the East Romans allowed besides that also a connection with the plane, at least seemingly. At least the latter is confirmed through the sarcophagi from Ravenna during the fourth century A.D. such as fig. 25; centralized composition of the whole, continuous observation of certain relations with the plane in the parts, for example in the folds. They seem to be connected tactically among one another and not through linear shadowy furrows, but through shallower and lighter hollows. We cannot expect such works among the West Romans inasmuch as we also do not find them during the fourth century with a few exceptions (e.g., the sarcophagus of Constantina which may come from the East) in the City of Rome. One has to be more careful with the opposite case: as they did maintain besides the centralized building the basilica so the East Romans may have, at least until Justinian, created besides the centralized composition also works which one-sidedly emphasized depth and neglected the connection on the plane between figures and parts of figures. From the modern artistic point of view the first was superior, because it was able to achieve unity with such artistic media as are close to our taste, while the latter seemingly — which means according to our feeling — needed for this on immaterial, edified contact. Thus there is also explained that during the first centuries of the Middle Ages anywhere one searched for real artistic achievement of a visual problem, East Roman art, according to our modern ideas, seems to have been more productive and that especially

the branches of art which created figures, e.g., the mosaic, certainly from the sixth and perhaps from the fifth century on, were taken over entirely by East Roman artists. This dependency lasted as long as the West was not willing to reestablish the observations of the connections in between individual shapes in the visual arts. When this finally happened (in the North since Charlemagne the Great, in the South since the middle of the eleventh century) it was already based on an altered perception (about space as priority over the individual form), which opened for art a vast new future.

Byzantine art, which maintained the ancient perception about the completed individual shape as the aim of all *Bildkunst*, excluded itself thus from the future and lost thus for the second half of the Middle Ages any importance for the progress of artistic development for the occident.

As an example of the purely centralized composition among the East Romans we may take the relief of the sarcophagus of the Rinaldus (fig. 25). How the East Roman merger of the centralized building with the basilical longitudinal building is expressed in relief composition may be illustrated with a diptych in Berlin (fig. 42) <sup>(40)</sup>. The enthroned Madonna, *en face*, with the child in her lap, occupies exactly the middle of the picture plane and constitutes undoubtedly the domineering center of the composition, towards which also the heads of the angel and the half-figures of sun and moon converge; with a few minor exceptions otherwise painstaking symmetry to the central axis of the picture is kept. Besides this dominates now the obvious strife to accumulate as many space relations, which means overlaps, behind one another as possible, while the figure in the farthest background (in the corners) maintains the same height within the relief as the one foremost in the foreground (the child). Thus is expressed the typical relation to space in late Roman art: space in the figures is meticulously emphasized through many overlaps; but, artistic unity is essentially still looked for in a linear composition, which means the connecting aerial spaces between the individual shapes (figures) are basically not considered. The figures are lying above one another like a deck of cards: each isolated and independent in three-dimensional full space, but with the deliberate exclusion of all that could appear to be circulating aerial space between the figures. The shaping of facial traits and the more exact observations of the proportions in the individual figure generally prove that this diptych originates also in Greek *Kunstwollen* <sup>43</sup>.

43) Since this is not intended to be an encompassing book on late Roman art, but just a demonstration of the laws through which the *Kunstwollen* was expressed, one can here only mention a few monuments; yet it might help in the process of clarification, if, with a few words, two more ivory works are investigated concerning

Most advanced appears to be the one-sided emphasis of the isolating effect of cubic space and the suppression of connections on the planes — that is anything that makes a specific particularity of *Kunstwollen* for the late Roman period — it is emphasized in that branch which we can observe in the sculptures (particular tombstones) of the Coptic christians (monophysite Greeks, partly of ancient Egyptian decendency) in Egypt, at least from the seventh and eighth century. The tombstone fig. 43 (in the possession of Dr. Albert Figdor in Vienna) shows the figure in the pose of the Orans<sup>44</sup> between two pilasters above which a (largely broken off)

their art historical place. The one is the so-called Amalsuintha diptych (the plate from the Bargello illustrated in *Jahrb. der Kgl. Preuss Kunstsamml.*, XIX. 84; in Molinier, *Ivoires* plate V) which, on first sight seems to be executed in the Constantinian relief style, even though it is at least two centuries younger than the epoch of Constantine. Indeed, this would now contradict much the development previously demonstrated; yet it constitutes a completely normal advancement in an exceptional individual case. The queen is meant to be free standing in an aedicula in the shape of a rotunda with a cupola on top; if the artists had, as was done in the case of Probus or Felix on Consular diptychs, placed her under an arch on the flat ground, she would have appeared as if standing in ideal space, while the artist intended, indeed, to have the aedicula appear as a tabernacle, an enclosed interior space. Such a perception is not Constantinian, the freely undercut curtain could not be shown in the time of Constantine and was also not perceivable then. Against this speaks a tendency for the creation of firm limited interior spaces in late Roman art; on the Probianus diptych we find those (and in the Vatican Vergil number 3225) with three walls; in the Ashburnham-Pentateuch (fol. 25) we find strange attempts to have the beholder look into completely enclosed chambers with four walls. These are direct transitional elements to modern art. The second is the much discussed angel with the Greek inscription in the British Museum (illustrated among others in Molinier, *Ivoires*, pl. V). Its « beauty » has evoked enthusiasm in some authors. The figure constitutes proof that this late Roman art, infamous for being barbarous, holds basically still the same common ground with antiquity. The miracle was in the present case achieved with an increased care in observation of relations on the plane: particularly with the regular shaping of the face and the hair and drapery folds done in a tactile manner. How little one intended the basic establishment of the connection on the plane is demonstrated with the stiff entire pose, the insufficiently delineated joints, and the pose of the feet, which do not stand firmly on the steps of the staircase, but lie obliquely over them; hence, the typical floating position with bird's-eye view of most of the late Roman figures, which principally neglect the plane relation with the floor. The artist has intentionally avoided representing a particular momentary form of standing on steps because he was rather striving to bring before the eye of the beholder a standing above steps *per se* as an objective type, and to characterize feet with the means of the bird's-eye view as filling deep space.

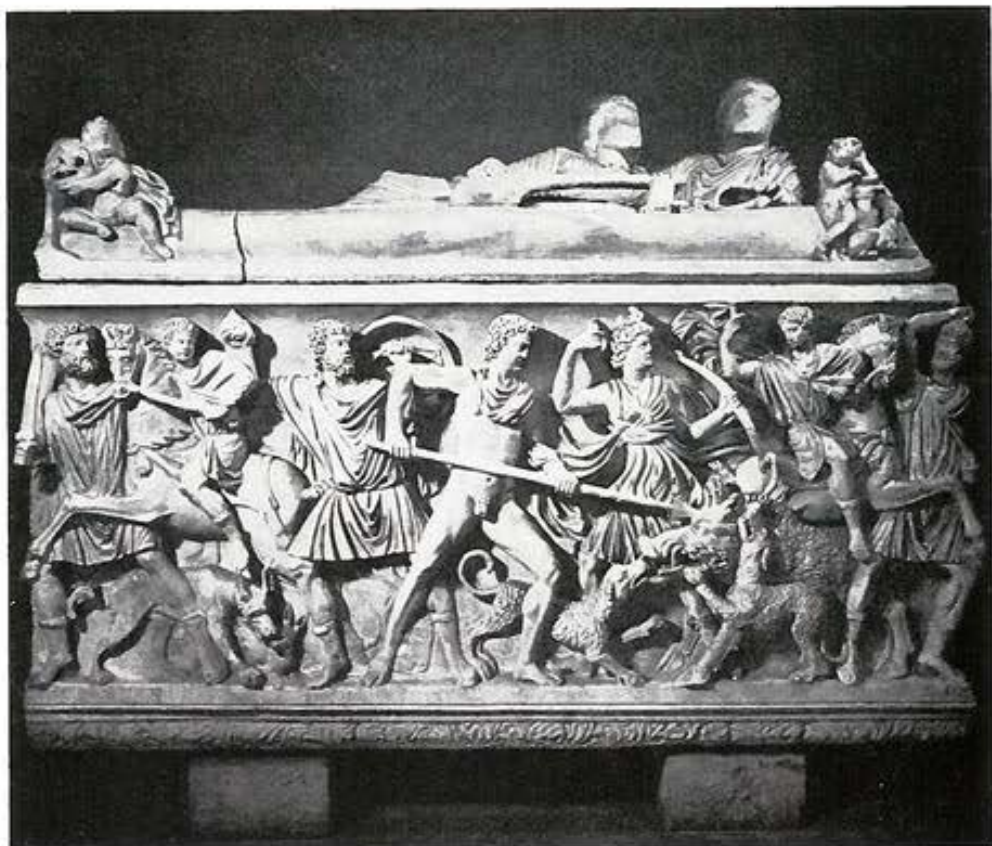
44) The eyes of the figure are only indicated with the two eyebrows; the eyeballs are, however, suppressed. Since a previous adding of the latter could not have been added in paint for various reasons, this most remarkable phenomenon demands an explanation, which can only be done in connection with an investigation of all the other relevant monuments in the Museum at Giza in Alexandria.

triangular pediment with a pair of peacocks rose. The human figure as well as the leaves of the tendril of the pilasters are sharply set apart from the spatial ground, but within their plane are not interrupted by any tactile-connecting projections or recessions; the few folds are engraved with vertical lines. The partial planes are thus separated with optically perceivable spaces and are not connected with tactile transitions. Between the leaves of the pilaster tendrils the ground level is still executed in the spirit of the Museo Paolino pilaster (fig. 10), limited to as small an extent as possible; the technique comes close to the relief *en creux*.

Also for the art of the ancient Egyptians the relief *en creux* was characteristic; therefore, we see here, again, late Roman and Egyptian art in a most remarkable point come close together. However, nothing may show more impressively the diametrical contrast toward the beginning and the concluding phase of art in antiquity than a comparison between the Coptic reliefs and the ancient Egyptian ones: here we see principally curved planes with shadows reduced to weakest and broadest half-shadows (tactile plane) imaginable; in the Coptic reliefs we see principally an absolute plane but added are deepest and smallest shadows between (optical plane); in the ancient Egyptian reliefs we see the organic rise of the relief from the ground at a sharp angle (connection with the ground level); in the Coptic relief one observes harsh separation of the relief from the ground at a low angle (isolation of the ground level).

Besides the quoted particularities the tombstone which is now in the Museum at Giza, fig. 44, shows another one, that is the (acanthus) ornament in the corners of the pediment is partly so densely represented that as little ground as possible is visible between its parts, but besides it a lot of spatial ground remained entirely free. It is the same phenomenon which we have observed in the area of figure compositions at an earlier place: whenever possible either no ground plane (that is a dense rhythmic change between pattern and ground, light and dark) or a much freer ground (which then means ideal space), but a basic avoidance of the balanced distribution of the pattern on the ground, as classical art principally demanded.





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20 b



21 a



21 b



22 b



22 a





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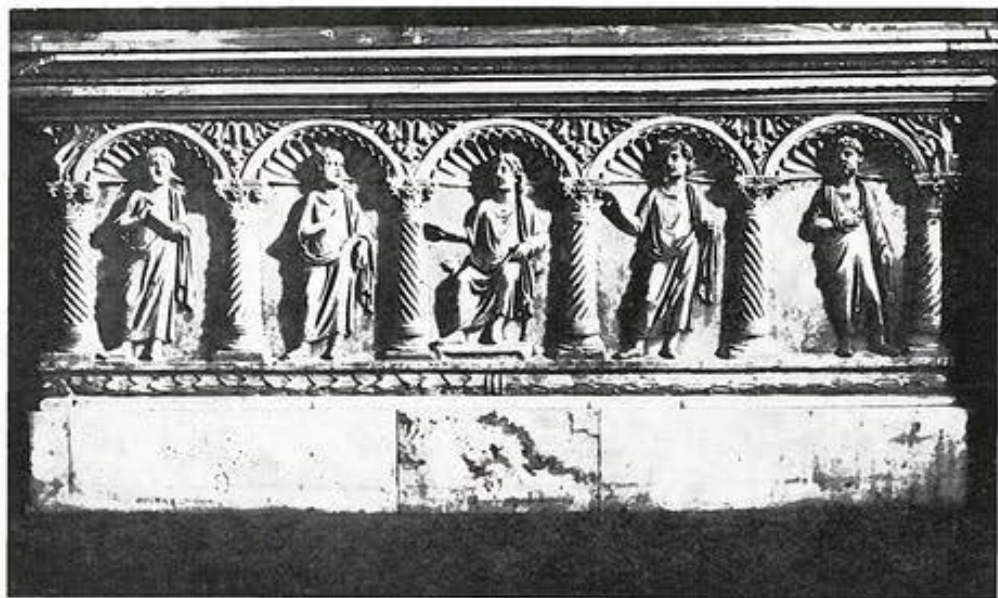


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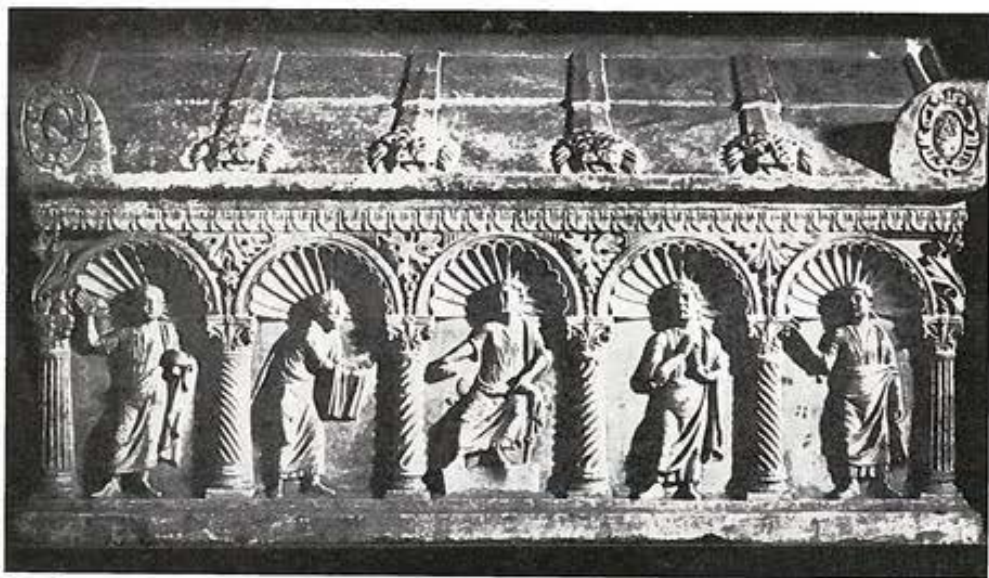








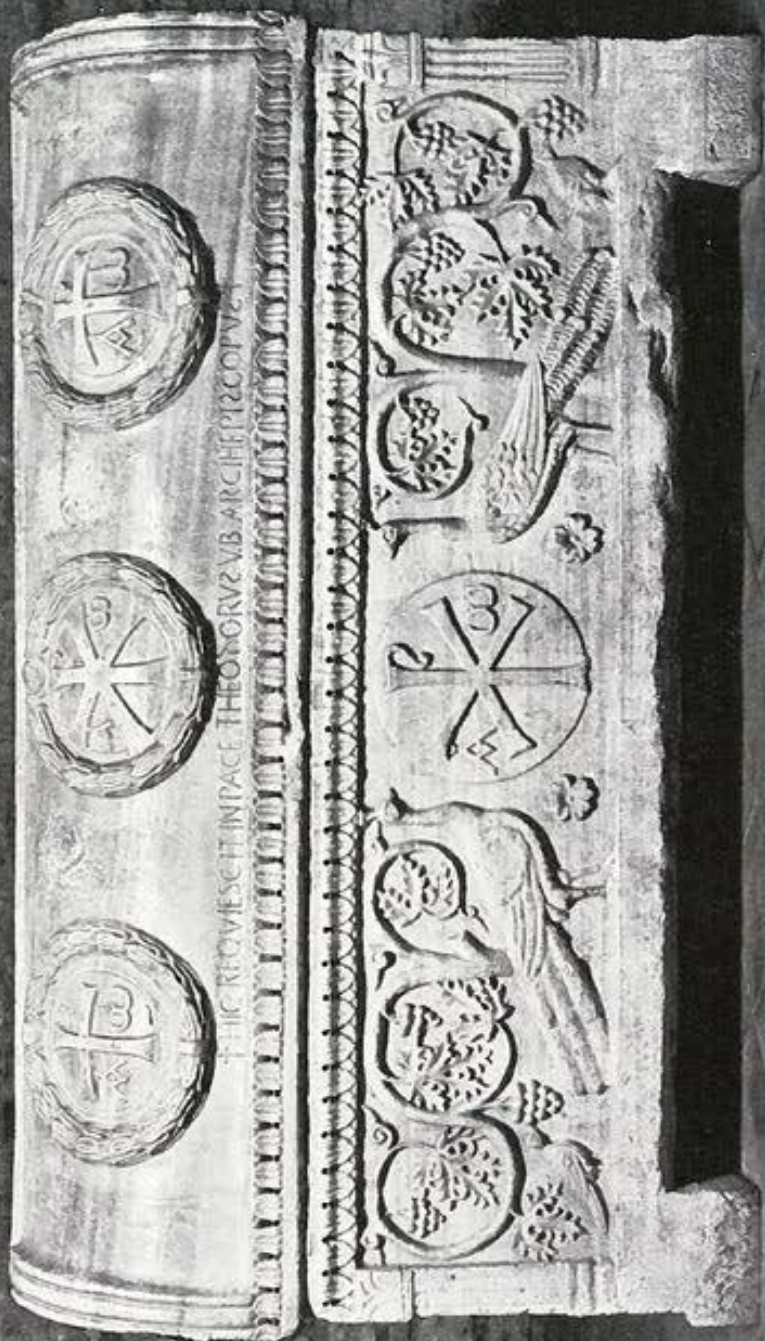
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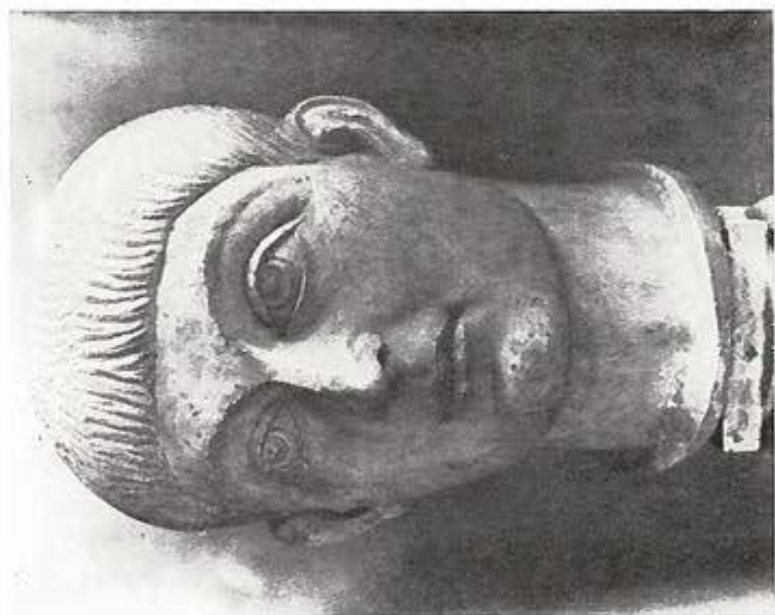
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### III

#### PAINTING

Modern *Kunstwollen* (taste) generally evaluates late Roman paintings more leniently than late Roman sculpture. Yet the artistic intention was the same in either case and thus both these fields of art were equally distant from the modern conception. The late Roman painter, moreover, wanted to render all parts of his figures in an equal manner for the viewer rather than to allow some of them to be dissipated in space through the effects of light and shadow. However, the often wide and sketchy summary marked by unmodulated change of color makes the contrast less distasteful to our eye, which is generally better trained for painting; this kind of contrast lacks connection and balance between a painstaking isolation of the outlines and an ambiguous treatment of the intervening planes. Thus we will not fail to identify the scene in the fresco of the three blindfolded martyrs expecting the fatal blow found in the Lower Church of San Giovanni e Paolo in Rome (usually dated in the middle of the fourth century A.D.) in spite of its extreme superficiality in execution and in spite of the fact that it neglects to render the figures convincingly in space because in the action of this moment the three victims are represented through foreshortenings and in accordance with the actual situation with such a thrilling and optically correct manner, that we overlook entirely what is from a modern point of view the insubstantiality and physically impossible pose of such figures. Yet if we imagine the same scene on a low relief such as those of the Constantinian period we cannot visualize it as anything but harsh and repelling.

At this point we should pursue the gradual development of late Roman painting beginning at least with the time of Augustus and in doing so we would have an excellent base of works such as those by Wickhoff. However, the most important connecting link, a clear picture of middle Roman painting, is missing. A Pompei of this period is yet to be found and what is known about ancient frescoes from the second to the fourth century A.D., is hidden for the most part in the subterranean tombchambers, which makes art historical investigation impossible. This applies particularly to investigations that go beyond iconography. The foreign scholar,

moreover, will have difficulty in securing the proper access. At this point we have to be satisfied with the hope that the publication of the catacomb paintings by J. Wilpert, which is making such good progress, will provide the missing foundation for our understanding of the artistic development in Roman wall painting before and after Constantine. We do not doubt for a moment that the result will generally not be different from the development outlined in our chapter on sculpture. For such reasons we must be content in this chapter with a discussion of late Roman painting excluding wall painting so that we shall discuss only the development of mosaics and book illumination. But even such a very limited task still faces considerable difficulties: Rossi's large publication of mosaics is insufficient for critical investigation of style. Even an examination of the mosaics themselves does not secure precision due to frequent restorations. In regard to research on book illumination at least there have recently been published in photographic reproduction two very important and basic manuscripts — one pagan and one christian — which help to resolve our task as much as possible without contact with the originals for works of art in which color plays a role.

The mosaic is a speciality of the last *fernsichtig* phase in ancient art, because in selecting individual shapes it does not tolerate fine nuances of colors. Thus it can only have effect in *Fernsicht* similar to the broad brush strokes in oil painting. The oldest mosaics (perhaps still hellenistic) show the relatively fine *nahsichtig* execution; thereafter the size of the tesserae steadily increases during the course of the Empire making the work coarser and adopting an increasing *Fernsicht* until finally the highest degree of indifference to the animated beauty is reached in the mosaics representing gladiators fighting animals in the Salone of the Villa Borghese in Rome. This «decline», however, belongs not just to pagan art, because early christian mosaics such as the Presentation in the Temple in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (well illustrated in Grisar, *Geschichte Roms*, p. 301) are in no way more compatible with our taste than the circus scenes just mentioned. The effect they have on the modern beholder is due exclusively to the seriousness with which they carry religious content.

What bothers us in later Roman mosaics as for example in the treatment of nudity, is not the contrast of neighboring bands of color — because at least we have been, accustomed since the seventeenth century to a broad and loose brush stroke — but rather the lack of coloristic unity which comes from the fact that each band of color has its own meaning to maintain; that is, the aim here is as anywhere in late Roman art isolation and not connection; this kind of painting constitutes still essentially polychromy and is not purely coloristic. This is again that remnant of tactile perception already frequently emphasized in this work which is indestructable because it

cannot be separated from the basic aim of all ancient art in spite of the achievement of a transition to optical perception expressed here also in the coloring. It is this tendency which still exclusively dominates in the latest phase of antiquity and it is directed toward the maintenance of the individual shape and its parts rather than a modern transposition into infinite space.

The origins of the mosaics of Santa Costanza in Rome, as well as this entire circular building, are traditionally associated with the daughters of Constantine the Great <sup>(20)</sup>. There does not exist a sufficient basis to doubt (as has been done) the correctness of the date in the second quarter of the fourth century, even though the two portrait heads presented there (fig. 45) with the sharp glance to the side and the erotes harvesting grapes in no less lively motion belong rather to the middle Roman style. Examination of sarcophagi sculpture in the City of Rome during the fourth century taught us sufficiently that during this entire century one has to expect a maintenance of middle Roman artistic intentions (*Kunstabsicht*) besides the undeniable progress to novelty (late Roman). By the way, these erotes (fig. 45, between tendrils) show particularly how the restlessly flickering light on flesh does not enhance the modelling (connection of planes in between projections) as was achieved by the complimentary device — the shadow — earlier in ancient art nor do they place the figure in relation to its spatial environment, as it is done with free light falling from one side and reflecting light in modern art; but, they rather mean a constant rhythmic alternation between partial planes which are spotlighted and which have shadows and constitute thus an entirely separate life within the self-contained mass. Hence a contradiction is explained which seems to lie, according to our view, in the fact that these late Roman mosaic figures (and this is to a certain degree true for all painted ancient figures, not excluding the ones of the early Empire) reveal on one side fascinating real life (Wickhoff's « Illusionism ») which is based on the optical perception, on the other side something of the shadowy, dream- and masklike nature. Yet through the latter there is not expressed an insufficient ability but rather a very positive (even the most positive of all) side of the ancient *Kunstwollen* according to which unity and clarity is always searched for in the individual shape while it exists in between shapeless space as such. With it any consideration for it appears distasteful and unartistic.

The original mosaic decoration of Santa Costanza is nowadays only partly preserved. Attributed to its original period with full certainty can only be the decoration of the barrel-vaulted ambulatory <sup>45</sup>.

45) I had to date not time or possibility to investigate thoroughly the figurative scene in the niches; there exist also not good reproductions, I have to stay away here



This function gave a particular kind of exception to the composition in that the beholder was to see the content of the decoration of the vault from two sides; consequently, the figures to the left and right of the central axis had to turn their backs towards one another if they wanted to present themselves to the beholder in an upright view. If one stresses that this externally dictated organization was a common element for the other parts, three schemes of composition on the plane emerge followed by the approximately trapezoidal fields of the vault.

1. Composition with clear emphasis on the center (portrait head, fig. 45) and the corners (scenes with wine harvest, the same on both sides). All ground in between is densely covered with small leaved tendrils which mainly avoid strictly circular curls. They have motives which gradually increase three times in size (leaves, birds, erotes). This law of mass composition is largely identical with the centralistic design observed in fig. 11 (sarcophagus with Achilles and Penthesileia). The pattern covers the ground in a dense sequence, and this pattern constitutes the ground for the figures in the center and the corners (compare what was said on this point about the Felix diptych).

2. The ground as such disappeared and the entire plane is broken up into circular medallions (either of different size, fig. 46, or of the same size with the spandrels in between) or into polygons; in each compartment there is an individual motive which thus appears centralized. No emphasis on the center and corners. This scheme we already met in Pompei (Stilfragen, p. 312).

3. The strangest scheme of all (fig. 47): branches, vessels, peacock feathers, birds are densely and unsystematically spread across the ground (even though birds and vessels generally appear in an upright position). Its art historical place can be clarified best through comparison with the externally related Asaraton of the Museo Paolino. In the latter we find much free ground, the objects brightly and clearly modelled casting shadows on the ground; while here appears as little ground as possible, the

from a judgement about their character of style and their date. The cupola mosaics are preserved just in illustrations and can thus not be used for our investigations.

46) At least in the main figures, when one adds the group of bodyguards, one finds just full symmetry, if one adds to it the ceremonial picture with Theodora.

The fact that the figure of Justinian does not constitute the exclusive dominant figure as in the Constantinian relief (fig. 7) but that it shares it with the patron of the mosaic, Bishop Maximian, is interesting; this was certainly not the role of the emperor-pope in Byzantium, as legitimate heir of Constantinian religious politics, but the one of the West Roman princes of the church. The central composition nonetheless demanded a clear emphasis of the center and for that reason a page was added between the two main figures and behind the two figures.

objects are rendered in a predominantly flat projection, and dark colors without, however, are present the suggestion that they are connected with the ground through cast shadows. Convincingly expressed here is the growing intention towards a free cubic spatiality of the individual shape as well as its isolation from its neighboring planes.

All three cases thus constitute a true plane composition (there exists no longer any considerable overlap between the individual motives) but they also suppress as much as possible the ground through the pattern and the isolation of the individual motive on the plane. Yet a complete suppression of the ground towards which this development was directed could not be achieved with such a motive and such a natural treatment of them and for this reason also this kind of decoration, at least as far as the motives go, cannot be found in the essentially late Roman art. The lasting and prophetic element in it was the tendency towards an infinite continuation of the motive once begun on the plane, in which we recognize the law of composition of the infinite rapport, even though not yet in its strictest form.

Among the earliest christian mosaics in Rome, the apse of Santa Pudenzina (from the fourth century) shows a centralized composition with a remarkable concentric organization of figures in a circle. The spatial semicircle which recalls the Pilate group (fig. 23) is no less remarkable than the rather high sky with clouds. Both are entirely justified even though we place this mosaic among the art historically unique objects of this transitional period when two eras of the world meet. It may be instructive for the *Kunstwollen* in contemporary architecture to look at the numerous buildings in this mosaic where the intention to create a continuous coloristic distinction between the light planes of walls and dark perforations in them (arcades and windows) becomes evident.

The mosaic mentioned previously with the Presentation of Simon in the Temple from Santa Maria Maggiore is a work from the fifth century (an illustration based on a good photo in Grisar, *op. cit.*, permits more reliable stylistic observations than de Rossi's publication). Most of the figures in it already show a particularity so typical for later times: the figures turn out of space toward the beholder either fully or in a  $3/4$  frontal view, but they turn the pupils of their eyes in an artificial manner to the side which attracts their attention in accordance with the content. Thus is so to say reactivated Julius Lange's ancient Near Eastern archaic law of frontality in that head and torso keep the same axis; yet there is an essential difference: among the ancient Egyptians the rigid material crystallization expressed in this scheme was by no means reduced through any sign of spiritual life, while here to the contrary, the intention was obviously to evoke with the sharp turn of the eyes an impression of

spiritual animation opposite to the rigidity of the bodily position. In the subjective view of the modern beholder this seems to be again the distortion of extremities in ancient Egyptian art, in fact, the late Romans meant to represent in such manner the figures in their objective nature independent of momentary and occasional appearance before the eye of the beholder. Consequently, in relief and in painting, types in frontal position were established as once before the Egyptians had established types for profile positions; both were contrasts to the  $3/4$  position of classical art and its capability for infinite changes.

As frequently before we meet here again first of all a main contrast between intended effects which during the classical period were both bound to the same means (physical bodily and spiritual movement). Secondly we meet a parallel to ancient Near Eastern-Archaic art which, however, as numerous other parallels of that kind (e.g. the low rendering of the relief) constitutes not a simple return to the earliest or even more to the childish-barbaric but rather an arrival at the opposite extreme. While frontality among the ancient Egyptians was tactile, that of late Roman art, which we may define as axiality, has become optical; while the Egyptians expressed it through the figure in the round, it is now characteristic of painting and relief; both are however only imaginable within an art as ancient art was; i.e., principally based on a clear perception of the individual shape. When in modern art space becomes the main thing within the artistic problem of unity, the individual figure enters thousands of relations with the external world. And now no longer is there mentioned a self-sufficient individual shape contained and resting in itself (which makes frontality).

But what was the essential artistic function of axiality, which means the predominantly frontal position of figures, in late antique painting and relief? Obviously again the fact that the figure was made to occupy space. Again, an increase of spatiality for the figure in contrast to the visual plane; it does so by turning to the beholder and emerging straight out of depth. The frontal figures were artistically meant to fulfill the same intention as the diagonally placed buildings as well as the figures, vessels, trees, mountains, etc. in bird's-eye view. But what happens if such figures were to be brought into relation with one another (e.g. for a conversation)? One had to avoid an unreflected turn to a profile view of the figures principally because it would have meant another connection with the ground (visual plane). Therefore, they had to give preference to axiality even where abstract individuality did not exist, but rather a transient changing interrelation. This interrelation was achieved exclusively through a dialogue between eyes. A look at a representation from the Genesis is better than all definition (fig. 48). The sideways turn of the eyes apparent in all figures

is, opposite to our interpretation of such art as childish-barbaric, a positive artistic medium. It separates the figures with their cubic spatiality from the visual plane and connects them. The intermediate space became ideal space and not a real part taken from an amorphous infinity. We see this phenomenon, notoriously during the Middle Ages, even in German and French miniatures of the fourteenth century. Just as the decisive emancipation of free space in the visual arts during the fifteenth century did away with axiality, in the same manner the fifth century B.C. emancipated the ability to connect figures on the plane and did away with the ancient Near Eastern and archaic frontality.

It is self-evident that beside the new frontality (axiality) there was no room for the contrapposto as a classical medium between bodily immotion and motion. A comparison with the Felix diptych from the year 428 A.D. shows the contrapposto radically overcome as well as a more definite expression of the floating position of the feet. The mosaic from Santa Maria Maggiore cited above represents accordingly an earlier stage of development (even though it was not necessarily earlier in date).

The end of the pre-iconoclastic development is best illustrated through mosaics from San Vitale in Ravenna. Connected with the name and personality of bishop Maximian, they are more securely dated in the middle of the sixth century than possibly the ivory reliefs which decorate the throne in the Cathedral itself. From the viewpoint of development considerable objections have to be raised against a placement in the same period in spite of the alleged monogram of Bishop Maximian. As an example we may take the ceremonial picture representing Justinian and Maximian (fig. 49). A composition on the plane: centralistic; just verticals (the contour, folds, ornaments; the axiality is only in the figure of Maximian slightly reduced) and horizontals (rows of heads, feet, garment-seams and arms). Spatial composition: the figures step frontally out of space into the direction of the beholder and stare straight at him; even though the main group shows partial overlaps on the plane, it is together with the entourage of five body guards compressed using three rows to one compact plane-like mass not leaving any visible space in between the figures. The floating of the feet repeats the phenomenon (which was already observed in metropolitan Roman early christian sarcophagi of the more advanced style) that the foreground figures seem to step on the feet of the background figures; this is the obvious proof that the artist's aim was a complete isolation of the individual figures in space sacrificing the connection on the plane (in this instance the connection of the feet with adjacent ground); linear folds (corresponding with the engraved folds in sculpture), yet inclined toward pleating (which can be seen particularly in the double lines). This as well as the slim, elongated and stilted bodily proportions

(together with a reduction of the head size) establish mainly a relationship with the subsequent Byzantine style, generally the most characteristic element for the style of these mosaics <sup>47</sup>

How one can in view of works such as the mosaics from San Vitale talk about «decline» cannot be understood because every line demonstrates clear planning and a positive *Wollen*. In order to appreciate fully the convincingly portrait-like effect of the heads in their artistic importance, one has to consider that these (with the exception of the outlines) are essentially created by the characteristic look (besides a few linear shadows), while abandoning all modelling of muscular planes through half-shadows, on which the artistic elements in portrait art in the period before Marcus Aurelius were based. When, however, these Justinian portraits do not satisfy us fully, this is only dependent on the lack of spatial unity in the picture: each figure (and each part of a figure) is perceived optically for itself without consideration of the neighboring figures which are standing with the same figure in the same section of space. For this reason, we have to read each figure individually in the picture, if we would like to appreciate it fully. This late Roman and Byzantine art did not desire the modern unity of space; yet, to deny categorically its strife for a natural reality in life, would not be correct and would be unhistorical. The portrait heads from San Vitale warn us strongly about this. To the contrary, reality was searched for by late Roman art as much as it was by classical and by modern; classical antiquity (and its continuation until the earlier Roman Empire) searched the tactile reality of the individual object in the *Nahsicht* up to the *Normalsicht* without consideration of space, and on the other side modern art searched either the tactile or (since the seventeenth century) the optical reality of objects in space; thus, the art of the Roman Empire was directed toward the optical reality of objects without consideration of space. Yet, what bothers us in the works of late Roman art is that our modern perception is based, according to what was just said, on the fact that we are able to perceive an individual shape without consideration of space in a tactile manner from the *Nahsicht* (hence our respect of classical art), but not from the optical *Fernsicht*; we are rooted so much in the principal perception that the individual shapes with their spatial environment belong as a material appearance together, while ancient man was able only to perceive the individual shapes in their isolated appearance.

47) The employment of East Roman artists would in Ravenna, Italy's port to the East, not surprise. About the principal relation between East and West Roman art before iconoclasm, compare what was said above.

Wickhoff has already emphatically pointed out that the rise of book-illumination is very closely connected to a waking desire for cyclic representations. The necessity to be aware before every single picture of a cycle of its connection with the preceding and the following is a *fernsichtig* as well as spiritual element; the latter based on the necessary appeal to the supplementing experience. For both — *Fernsicht* and increased help through the inner consciousness during the perception of a work of art — were, according to all that the observation of a sculptural development in antiquity taught us, given their preconditions during the Roman Empire. Classical art must have opposed a mixture of words and picture principally <sup>48</sup>. Indeed, until now no one undertook (and perhaps this is also no longer possible) to imagine the shape of the ideal classical codex (or the ideal scroll). Yet, already the treatment of the inscriptions together with the oldest hitherto known manuscripts, which came down to us, teaches that the artistic character constituted the regular organization of an almost equally large (high) letter perforated with ample ground, particularly between lines in avoiding disturbing spaces based on the separation between word and sentence. Even the Vatican Virgil number 3225 written in the fourth century A.D. does not yet show its separation of words and does not have any initials; the need of the reader to see the beginning emphasized is fulfilled through an unassuming and also non-disturbing elongation of the shaft of the first letter on each side. All interruptions of this ideal scheme through letters of different sizes, intervals between words and sentences, and finally through pictures may make reading, which means the intellectual understanding of the text, easier but at the same time they bother the purely artistic appreciation of the material appearance for the sake of the intellectual.

The change of style we could observe from the middle Roman period on was expressed in the Roman manuscript first through a closer move of the letters together because thus a lively coloristic change between light and shadow is revealed, an accumulation of pattern, and an equalization of the pattern with the ground. The ancient book needed an ornament as little as the ancient inscription plate did; the picture with its necessary frame brings decorative motive to the manuscript (e.g., in the already mentioned Vatican Virgil, in the Filocalus-calendar).

In the course of development the ornament begins gradually to move across the frame: this happens to a degree as the *Kunstwollen* in its creation

48) This is different from ancient Near Eastern and early Greek art, which is in this respect seemingly the same, yet, in fact the opposite phenomenon of late Roman art: their script served as an explanation of the picture, now vice-versa, the picture has to illustrate the text.

of figures (imitations of organically animated creatures in their material appearance) no longer finds satisfaction but discomfort.

This process begins in the fifth century, but did not reach its decisive step until the seventh century. Its end result was the complete abandonment of the figurative picture in the semitic Near East, the iconoclasm among the Greeks in the East Roman Empire, the indifference toward the material appearance of animated creatures in the Occident; in book painting it is revealed through the sudden supremacy of the ornament, through which now the *Kunstwollen* was able to be expressed in its purest form: particularly through the initials while the figurative pictures from the seventh century on (in the Occident at least until the ninth century) held essentially just the role of necessary evil tolerated for the purpose of edification. Even though the last mentioned trend can be traced in its beginning back at least to the middle Roman period, it found unresisted recognition from the seventh century on. In the mosaics from Ravenna of the sixth century one could still find an undeniable interest in the material appearance of the human being.

Very problematic is the date for the oldest illustrated manuscripts. Just the Filocalus-calendar (354 A.D.), the Vienna Dioscorides (around 500 A.D.), and the Syrian gospel of the Laurentian Library (586 A.D.) give clear information about the time of their origin: but, the first is only preserved in copies and the latter is not yet published in a usable manner and originated also at quite a late time. We are here interested foremost in learning about the development from the middle Roman to the late Roman period. Fortunately, at least the Vatican Aeneas manuscript number 3325, which according to paleographic criteria, is dated in the fourth century, is published now with faithful photographic reproductions, which the highly merited prefectus of the Vatican Library, P. Ehrle, recently ordered to be done. The perception of the relation between figure and space which we find here is still essentially pre-Constantinian. The picture of the adventure with Circe (fig. 50; picture 39 of the Vatican publication) presents a deep space with definite dimensions: from the shore of the Mediterranean, where in the niche-like bay the ships are anchored, we see on land a cluster of little houses and people before them. The quickly sketched figures, which can only be recognized with the aid of intellectual combination, are still firmly connected with the ground by casting long shadows onto it; indeed, the unified direction of the casts of shadow has the effect that this little picture seems to a certain degree to evoke atmosphere. Yet this transient impression of atmosphere is still completely suppressed and overcome through the tendency toward isolation. The visible shapes are crowded on two levels: the foreground with the bay of ships in the background, the cluster of houses with stable and a weaver's loom lined

before it; what remains to the left and right is filled with trees and cuts out thus any further penetration of the view into infinite depth of space. The high horizon leaves almost no room for the sky (which also is still ground level). The ground (space) between the two levels is empty (as it constitutes a necessary evil). For the distribution of figures backstage and parallel to the division of the interior space of the oblong halls of the *thermai* into regular (square) compartments, picture 6 is more characteristic. The levels here are entirely strict and linearly executed, and inserted between wall and background is an additional plane, entirely empty and thus having the effect of a relief ground; thus is expressed the apprehension against the recognition of a free (that means to be filled with bodies) space between the individual planes of representation in a most remarkable manner. The playing with the depth of space within definite limitations is surfacing forcefully in picture 5, where a water pipe from a basin located in the depth leads directly to a trough for the cattle in the foreground. The moon appears here repeatedly as crescent, the rising sun one time (picture 5) as head of Helios with a nimbus of rays, a highlighting effect that can be found in a manner known since hellenistic times, that is individual objects are spotlighted, yet not the air space and all objects attainable through it. The foliage of the tree is sketched fine and quivering, no leaf is drawn in a tactile *Nahsicht*. The two Dido pictures (picture 26 and 27) show an interior with a straight rear wall and two connecting lateral walls in perspective foreshortening (similar as on the Probianus diptych in Berlin, but with less depth) similarly as a part of foreshortened ceiling above; however, the door cuts from the left corner into space and brings thus proof that the artist was by no means concerned (and with that he is identified as late Roman) to represent the individual objects by all means in their objective tactile connection with one another in space. The figures are still flexible, the axuality with the side-look is generally still little perfected, but not without representatives, as for example, in the Sacrifice of Dido (picture 22). The seated figures are still not yet turned straight forward but in the traditional three-quarter view toward the beholder.

Of particular interest are, furthermore, the following pictures: picture 19: to the left the beach line, along which the surf splashes at the shore; here are two cattle, the casting shadows of which are painted in a remarkable and intentional sharpness on the pebbles. Picture 28: in the foreground boats with oars moving across the sea, in the middle-ground between the waters are two cliffs with trees, which like the boats cast long shadows on the mirroring water in the background, above the horizon appears a light stripe. This picture would be one of the most atmospheric, if staging were not so strictly observed and if the sea were actually a wavy mirroring



water, and the sky above the high horizon were treated as actual air space and not as relief ground. Picture 41: a temple front between trees. One learns here what, in opposition to the Greeks, the Romans liked in regard to their temples. Light and flickering main lines, columns, entablature, pediment rafters, and podium; in contrast to this are the shadowy portico in the interior and the green frame of the trees in the exterior. Unfortunately, the figures moving before this dark silhouette are almost entirely rubbed off; yet, the bronze statues, on high pedestals before the columns are still clearly visible. Everywhere the strife toward contrast between light and shadow, which creates in opposition to modern art not a unified, but rather a restless flickering effect. Yet the ancient beholder gained from exactly this (and nowadays disturbing) rhythm of a sequence of light and shadow the impression of a becoming, liberating harmony.

The discussed Virgil illustrations are supposed to be close to the miniatures of the oldest christian illuminated manuscript — the Quedlinburg Itala — fragments. We have to believe the editor V. Schultze, because the helio-engravings, on which the badly damaged leaves are now published, do not by any means permit an independent judgement. However, one gains in fact the impression that we have here the oldest phase of development in painting as represented through the Genesis type. In comparison with Virgil one may just remark that in the Itala-illustration landscape elements are reduced when compared with the figures. The cast shadow seems, however, to still be observed.

However, the miniature pictures of the *Vienna Genesis* (published by W. v. Hartel and Wickhoff, Vienna, 1895) demonstrated all important criteria of late Roman style. The cast shadows disappeared; in their place one finds the floating step of the feet, and at times overlaps of the feet, axially, and a crowding of a mass of figures on the plane. Rather than the deep space of the Vatican Aeneas, we find sometimes seemingly a lack of space (that is lack of background), which in reality, according to the late Roman perception, indicates the transition toward the modern positioning of the figure in infinite space. On the other side backgrounds already exist (pls. 45 and 46), which at least in the modern beholder evoke immediately the ideal of an infinite aerial space above the firm soil. The framing shadows gain with the increased inclination toward a crowding of masses the meaning of silhouettes.<sup>49</sup> Accordingly, the sketchy, loose tops of trees

49) This phenomenon is especially present in the works of the illuminator of the *Vienna Genesis*, who was called by Wickhoff « The Miniaturist ». It is he who appears to be the most progressive in the development of style. Yet one should not derive from the term « miniaturist » that the stronger emphasis of outlines would be particularly characteristic for miniature paintings; on the contrary, the latter appeared

become now stylized massive shapes. This change results in the impression of a partial return to the tactile element, which the late Roman figures nowadays create for us, even though their perception was continuously an optical one.

Such stylistic characteristics do not exclude as a date for the origin of the *Vienna Genesis* the fourth century, yet the fifth century as the time of origin is much more probable. A later date is supported by the date of the Vienna Dioscorides, undoubtedly begun around the year 500 A.D. about which I would like to elaborate a little, even though a usable publication is still missing. Its major contents are the illustrations of almost two hundred plants (besides a number of animals) to which are added also a few pages with the representation of human figures. These plants are painted with utmost faithfulness to nature observing strictly foreshortenings, but always, in accordance with the late Roman manner, projected on the plane which means the plant takes a particular cubic space beyond which there exists no other deep space. The leaves often immediately demonstrate that their outlines are continuously perceived not as tactile (touchable limitations in the ancient Near-Eastern classical sense) but as optical ones, (that is, perceivable by the eye as outlining shadows); indeed, the dark silhouette lines can be found frequently just on one side of the leaf clearly (the shadowy, usually lower) or they are, at least, on this side stronger (fatter) drawn than on the opposite side to be imagined as being highlighted. The details within the silhouettes are always feeble (a trait these pictures have in common even with the best Pompeian frescoes). According to our taste these objects acquire their own lives on the surface, with the «colorful reflection», i.e. a space full of light in which they dwell. The treatment of human figures is generally the same as in the *Genesis*; only here appears silhouette painting (golden genii as personification of the arts in the dedication picture), which was handed down in the treatment of figures and ornaments until the Carolingian period. The figurative pictures are brought into a frame, the ornaments of which indicate already through the shadowy-like coloring, that they are not to be perceived as flat planes, but as spatially extended motives. Finally this manuscript is especially important because it has the oldest known decorated initials: the just slightly enlarged letters are on one side along shaft and beams framed with points (which was later imitated by the Irish monks. In a materialistic manner Janitschek and others declared it to derive from an

at the same time and to the same degree also in mosaics and wall painting. There exists indeed no «miniature style», but just a unified *Kunstwollen* which takes in its service all raw material and every technique rather than being dominated by them.

« Irish metal-style »); on the other side appear linear hooks or hooks made from points and triangular leaflets to the end of the shaft, finally in some cases they receive in addition below animalic figures (octopus, Fol. 10v, dolphin Fol. 10, fish Fol. 20) The latter form of decoration constitutes an obvious bridge to the fish-bird-ornamentation in the manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries (and as far as it concerns Greek and Near Eastern ones, and additional five centuries).







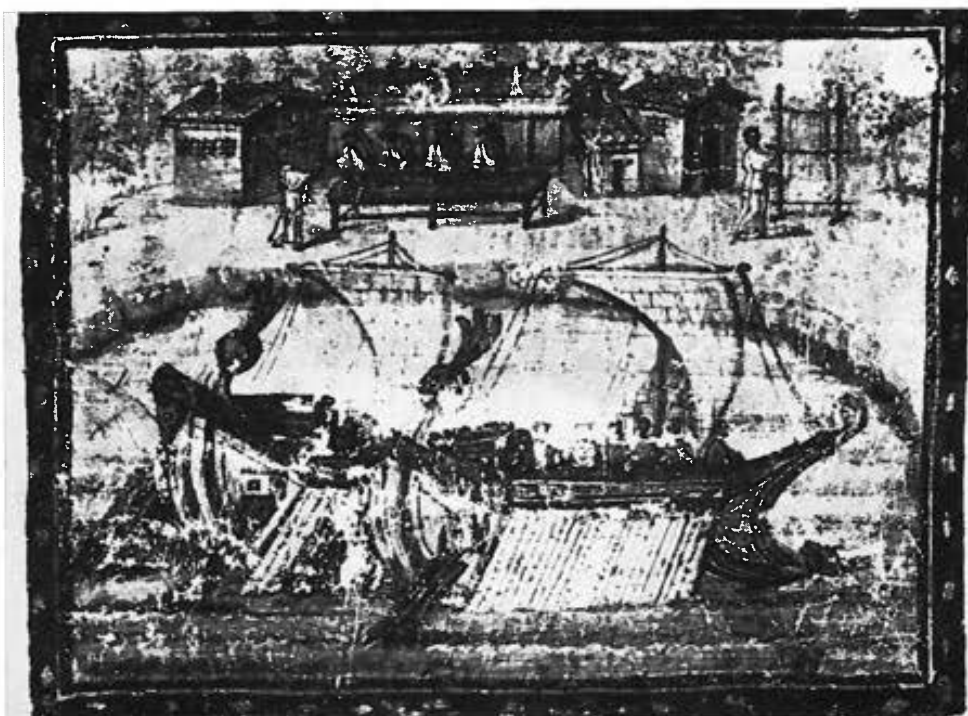




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## IV

### THE ART INDUSTRY <sup>(21)</sup>

The manner in which late Roman *Kunstwollen* was expressed in the field of art industry, that is functional creation with the exclusion of architecture, will be explored essentially by metal works. There is one reason for this limitation: it is impossible to discuss the many late Roman crafts in a book primarily concerned with the solution of large principal questions; another is the fortunate properties of the metals, which allows one to demonstrate almost all stylistic modes of treatment - sculptural, plastic, painted, engraved. The style used in this field during the hellenistic period and during the beginning Roman Empire was directed toward strong and richly articulated shape with curved surfaces the parts of which were connected entirely apart from the plane; for such purposes the highly embossed work was obviously the most appropriate technique. The character of change, which took place in ancient *Kunstwollen* around the birth of Christ, was already mainly defined in our section about the relief to the end that now the uninterrupted tactile connection of all parts on the plane is no longer an absolute and principal necessity in art, but permitted an interruption of it through optical discontinuity across which the intellectual experience, so to say, built connecting bridges.

In stone sculpture this interruption was produced through recessions with deep shadow; in the metal works this could be expressed even more through the direct perforation of the shapes. Indeed perforated metal works appear contemporary with the beginning of the clear optical perception (thus probably already from the end of the hellenistic period on) and can be traced until the seventh and eighth century. Since treatment always changes in detail during the course of the development of many centuries, we can expect from the study of these perforated works, to a higher degree than from any other branch of crafts, a clarified insight into the inner course and the ruling laws of its development, generally from the beginning of the Roman Empire until the end of the late Roman period. Other works were meant to produce the interruption of the tactile connection of the parts on the plane not with perforation, but with a continuous optical

change between highlighted and shadowy parts; the typical representative of this form of expression of the dominant supreme *Kunstwollen* was the wedge-shaped cut, which is first known on stone monuments from the beginning of the third century, and which generally belongs more to the middle Roman than to the actual late Roman *Kunstwollen*, because it disappears after the sixth century at least among the art of the leading nations. And what if one would in accordance with the progressing tendency toward reduction and flattening of the relief ignore all form of projection, even the one maintained with the help of perforation and wedge-shaped cuts (though here much reduced) and search for an interruption with deep and full colors in contrast to light shiny ones which would appear next to them? Indeed, the optical perception of light and shadow (in opposition to the tactile modelling of the halfshadows in the ancient Near Eastern and in classical Greek art) was already colorful and coloristic in the perforation as well as in the wedge-shaped cut. This last and richest step of development, which belongs exclusively to late Roman times, is represented through works with inlaid garnets, which brought a deep full red color in contrast to a glistening gold; it had as predecessor during the earlier Empire niello work (contrast between a blue-black niello and light shining silver) and enamel generally.

An investigation of monuments of the three main types will, by the way, be sufficient also in order to get to know some less characteristic types of metal work for that time (engraving, chasing, filligree).

### *Perforated works*

Its first and oldest class (pl. XIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, XIV 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) reveals with the changing height of the projections in the individual parts (most progressed in XIV.2) a strong remnant of tactile perception and with the flat level underside it recalls the classical relief ground: both connect it with pre-Augustan Greek art. The same impression is evoked through an observation of the treatment of the detail. The element of the decorative motive is the Greek tendril, particularly the forked tendril, with a corner filling half palmette, which ends on the periphery in a flat arch and seems to be changed as result of the suppression of the fan into a massive spheric triangle (hence also called « trumpet pattern » – compare particularly XIII.8). I dealt with the process of development from the classical palmette tendril to this stage of its advancement (up to the later arabesque) in my *Stilfragen*, p. 245 ff. fig. 126-128. The tendril motive, appearing to have developed from a circular shape to the curve, is undoubtedly similarly Greek-classical in origin; it has found in this

group of monuments a particular (non-classical) treatment in that the individual curves do not develop as they do in the wavy tendril in an uninterrupted connection from one another, but are suddenly disrupted in their course so that the immediately following curve may suddenly even move into the opposite direction.

The law of composition on which this is based is one of contrasting curves. It goes back to the classical contrapposto which finds balance for opposites (motions) in a higher unit (immotion), and one will indeed find that all objects of this group have in the end a symmetrical unity. In the contrast to the classical wavy tendril there is missing the almost natural connection and motivation; this creates in these compositions the impression of forced motion. However, we recognize in it the law of composition on which the Laocoon or the Borghese Warrior are based, and thus a connection seems again to have been made between this group of monuments and pre-Augustan antiquity.

Spiral forms such as XIII.1 and XIV.1, 3 are just a special case within this law and follow entirely the law of composition of the centralized building in architecture <sup>50</sup>.

A second class of ancient perforated works is identified for the next step of the development by the considerably lower reliefs and the return to greater immotion in the silhouette lines of the whole as well as in the composition of the curves (pl. XIII.5 with monogram as a filling, 9, 11, XIV.1, 2, 4, 7). The curve of the tendril still remains the basic motive of the decoration; but, its composition approaches either the classical (continuous wavy tendrils XIV.7 intermediate wavy tendril XIV.4) or it rolls into a forked tendril (XIV.2) and creates thus an isolated motive which, because of its external relationship with the Amazon shield (so-called *pelte*) and which through any number of multiplications can be made into any mass motive. In such a form the tendril curve is taken over by the third

50) In its external stylistic character this oldest class of ancient perforated work reveals a close relationship with the Gothic and the latest Baroque. This has a deep meaning, because both styles have in common with the earlier Roman Empire the particular mixture of tactile and optical perception. Thus it is not without interest to make clear what on the other hand the difference between these three types of style is. The perforated gothic tracery is in the severe time (before the fifteenth century) more geometric-architectonic (arch not tendril); however as soon as it begins (in the late Gothic) to change to more vegetative shapes displaying motion it also develops numerous overlaps and intertwined elements, chaotic and unclear, which the ancient perforation would never have been able to do. The late Baroque comes close to the class of ancient monuments under discussion with the common inclination toward contrasting curves; yet, while these curves in antiquity are always developed from the regular circular shape (even in XIV. 4 under strict analysis) the late Baroque preferably searched for elliptical or entirely irrational curves.

class of ancient perforated works; a class where any difference between the projections of the visible surface disappeared and everything is crowded onto one single plane (pl. XV.3, 6, the latter standing in the middle between the second and the third class, XIV, 8). Besides this appear in this third class massively shaped ivy-like leaves; yet outlined by fine moving lines, the points of these leaves are continued either in the straight (XIV.5) or in a curved and rolled up lines (XIV.7) and they thus express a basic law of the later creation of the arabesque figure (*Stilfragen*, 259 ff.). To this belongs still XIII.3 the spiral composition of which constitutes the connection with the first class. This offers a challenge to raise a question concerning the time of origin of the three classes observed in the perforated works. Since works of all three classes were found in the debris left by the Roman legions in Transylvania, we come to the final conclusion that the development so far sketched must have taken place between the time of Trajan and Aurelian. Already the stylistic observations place the monuments belonging to the first class in the earlier Roman Empire<sup>51</sup>. However, it is important to know that the works of the third class already began at least by 270 A.D. and belong thus still to the middle Roman style<sup>52</sup>.

To answer the question concerning the essential innovation of the middle Roman perforated works, when compared with the older examples of the first class, one will best look to works such as XV, 2 and 3. We see here essentially a single isolated motive (the so-called pelte or shield) reoccurring within a mass composition; the result is also that the perforated ground, enclosed by the pattern, is repeated always in the same configu-

51) Since the transition period of development in style between the late hellenistic period and the early Empire is nowadays generally not sufficiently researched, it is not surprising if one is inclined to date the perforated works of the first class partly until the last pre-Christian period, particularly since a number of other works of art, which have in common with the one under discussion, the characteristic arabesque configuration of the tendril ornamentation (Lindenschmit, *Altertümer III.I. 1*) and even the perforation (loc. cit. II. 8. Suppl.) have been dated back to the time of the Etruscans (in my judgement these are products of a non-Alexandrian, Near Eastern-provincial branch of Greek art during the advanced hellenistic phase of development). Our perforated bronzes of the first three classes belong obviously to the manufactured jewelry for the outfit of the Roman soldiers. For that reason they were found in great numbers everywhere in the Rhine and Danube provinces among the debris of the Roman settlements and camps. From the fourth century on they are replaced in those finds with notched bronzes.

52) The perforated gold setting of the Caracalla medallion in Fröhner<sup>1</sup> *Les médaillons de l'empire romain*, p. 164, could have originated at the same time with this medallion; the ones from Petrianecz in the Vienna Art Historical Museum already belong to the end of the middle Roman period.

rations. This is particularly the bean-shaped figure enclosed by the *pelte*, which is repeated eight times in XV.2 and 3; in XV.3 there appears in addition eight times a spheric triangle. If one generally looks at the perforations of figures XV.2 and 3 (white in the reproductions) one will easily recognize that these perforations constitute for themselves an entirely regular, outright composed « pattern ». This goal was at the time of its origin not just unrecognized but rather intentionally strived for.

Inasmuch as the middle Roman artists, for example in the Alexander Severus sarcophagus (fig. 13), took care to always let the dark and shadowy space appear between the individual light marble figures, so they also tried the same in the perforated works. They gave to the immaterial ground the character of pattern the same degree as they did for the material tendril composition regular linear silhouettes and a symmetrical placement together. This implies an intended art form. It was not yet the case with the works of the first class; though the perforation revealed an optical perception, it was still directed entirely to the material pattern and constituted thus a remnant of tactile quality. In works such as XV.2, 3 the eye is meant to perceive ground and pattern equally; the tactile character is thus stepping entirely backwards and in its place there comes the coloristic effect which makes everything — ground as well as pattern — have equally colorful contrasts. Two necessary subsequent effects of this process are to be mentioned immediately: 1. The loss which the pattern experiences with its content-like objective meaning; that is the antinaturalistic direction toward the abstract, which would find in Saracen art its last goal; 2. The rise of new, negative complimentary motive in the form of pure silhouettes such as those bean-shaped motives, which we will find along with the spheric triangular one and numerous others more often<sup>53</sup>.

Knowing about the origin and the importance of complimentary motives provides generally a large (perhaps even the best) part of the understanding of the nature of art development since the second century A.D. Not imitation of nature or human products rather than, so to say, spontaneous creation of the visual arts were the ones which the Roman population of the Empire recognized as exactly what they hoped to see for underlying reasons. So the ground itself becomes pattern, while in ancient Near Eastern art viceversa, even the pattern was brought as close as pos-

53) As a negative perforated pattern the bean motive appears as far as we know for the first time on Pompeian bronze lanterns (Museum in Naples inventory # 72.078 grouped in pairs, inventory # 72.066). To the same category of negative motives belong the perforated trefoils, spheric triangles, and so forth, on other lanterns for example, inventory # 72.067; furthermore, the perforated pins in numerous bronze fibulae, which one wants partly to date still to the later period of the diadochs (so called La Tène).

sible to the ground; and, among the Greeks they were placed beside one another in a reciprocal recognition and in a harmonic balance.

In fig. 51 a selection of the most frequently existing complimentary motives is collected; especially, the numerous repeated concave outlines reveal here the «negative» origin from the tendril curves<sup>54</sup>.

The fourth class is represented through works such as pl. XIV.9. Their main characteristic is that here seemingly the perforated metal plate is freely placed on top of another one which is not perforated, thus it seems externally that the relief ground is reestablished; but, there is missing especially the most important characteristic of the ancient relief: the rise of the projection from the ground<sup>55</sup>. Inasmuch as one can talk here about the relief, it is the closest parallel to the Constantinian examples (fig. 7). Finds from the Rhine country (*Jahrbuch des Ver. f. Altertumsfr. im Rheinlande*, IC plate I.2-5) indicated that also this class originated in the middle Roman period; by contrast, XIV.9 must have originated after Constantine. The pattern here becomes a simple geometric one in the shape of steps (transitionary element for this is XIV.8); this made it also possible to maintain strictly the infinite rapport for the pattern and the perforated ground. In a certain contrast to the smallish colorism of the interior surface, the mountings are given towards the edges tactile profiles and are, at least on the lateral side, awkwardly articulated so that the character of massiveness of the whole is now even more apparent.

That not the underlying plate, but the small and densely perforated pattern and thus the continuous rhythmic change created the leading particularity of style for this fourth class, is proven through the frequent re-occurrence of the same treatment in objects without plate. Here belongs the fibula probably originating in the fourth century A.D., which is produced in three views on pl. XVI.4, 5, 6. In order to comprehend the content of the pattern, particularly of the enrolled tendrils from the semi-circular shield at the top, one needs first to look closer; a superficial look, which this *Kunstabsicht* from the end of antiquity is used to see just a constant rhythmic change between light and dark. Also the perforated

54) Numerous examples of perforation of the last types for complementary motives are also the marble fences of the advanced Empire.

55) Anton Kisa published in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* Heft IC and in the *Kunstgewerbeblatt N.F.* VII. 8 and 9 a number of pertinent finds from the Rhine country in an excellent manner and classified them expressing the assumption that there might have been originally between ground plate and the perforated parts a colorful object inserted (a textile). We have proof of such objects for gothic perforated works; nothing forbids us to assume the same for Roman works, the coloristic intent of which is already firmly secured on the basis of other considerations.

inscription *VTERE FELIX* can only be seen by the attentive reader. The individual sides of the hexagonal profiled knob at the end are decorated with perforated peltai. The graceful rows of filigree, which constitute the borders of all the lateral planes, as much as a fine lace pattern contrasts strangely with the massive entire shape of the hexagonal arch and the shield at the top with its shape expanding beyond a semicircle.

The most extreme point of development of this coloristic tendency is apparent in the perforated work of the gold fibula from Apahida (in the Museum at Cluji compare Hamel's Atlas I. Plate 35). Our plate XVI.1-3 shows three sides of it. This time it is not the strap which is not perforated and also not the bow, which shrank here to a hexagonal cross-tube, with three hexagonal onion knobs, but rather, the slightly bent and crushed tip of the catchplate<sup>56</sup>. This led first of all to a large alteration, and a widening, to a simplification of the outlines to a strict oblong shape, and a limitation of the polygonal refraction to one with three sides which was visible from above, that is from the most important direction for the beholder, practically just one single plane with small borderlines having profiles while projecting slightly. The underside appears to be broken like a roof with two slant planes (pl. XVI.1).

The upper side of the catchplate tip shows now a perforated pattern with such a dense change between light and dark points that the underlying motive can just be made out with the closest look: within the field is a maeander on the border and on three sides a bent guilloche. Above the perforated pattern, showing the positive and the negative material and empty space in as perfect rhythmic balance as possible and thus in a coloristic unity, there is now placed as motive an object, a christian (Latin) cross, as if placed across a carpet (which means spared on the gold plate), so that the cross, the arms of which cut into the frame, separates itself clearly from the perforated pattern as its ground. The ground which just before seemed to have entirely disappeared by using the medium of perforation, appears here again, over the medium of mass compositions as the background for the cross. The importance of this stage in the development of decorative art is obvious, when one recalls individual representatives

56) The identification of the long shaft, which held on the lower side the tip of the needle, as footpiece has become a common term based on our modern taste which expects below a more or less sharp end as much as it became custom to call the broader end a headpiece. Yet it has to be emphasized that from the viewpoint of ancient function the opposite determination would be more justified, because as we can see on numerous reliefs and mosaics the fibulae were carried on the right shoulder with the short «footpiece» pointing upwards as it is illustrated in fig. 49 and as it can be even better concluded from the same position of decorative and figurative ornamentations (cross, birds, leaves).



among its successors: from the art of the Near East, for example, the Arabic tiles with large lettering separating themselves from the ground which is covered with fine tendrils; from the art of the Occident the romanesque miniature pictures, the figures of which act before a background, which is usually called by art-materialism «carpet». Here obviously took place the same emancipation of the ground into the direction of space, as we observed it in the reliefs on the sarcophagi from Ravenna and as it is later expressed thorough the gold ground of the mosaics. The fibula of Apahida displays thus the late Roman style, this is supported by the find data, which did not give firm ground for an exact date, but (as it will be shown at a later place) which points with greatest probability toward the first half of the middle of the fifth century.

The two slanted planes of the lower side have one and the same perforated pattern, which can be recognized easier here, because they did not have to serve as a background for another motive, and generally show a relatively clear continuous connection: an acanthus *rincean*, the rolled stems of which have in close sequence sharp points of leaves as ends<sup>57</sup>. Yet, even in this case the pattern is just a restful element for the eye, which on the upper side was achieved through the cross<sup>58</sup>. The coloristic tendency toward a constant flickering change between light and dark was also here the only important one. In stone we found the same *Kunstwollen* expressed in the prongs of the acanthus leaves of the capital illustrated in fig. 3; it can be found in an even purer and immediate form in the acanthus frieze, fig. 54.

As soon as one had reached an understanding of the relation between ground and pattern, as found on the upper side of the fibula from Apahida (pl. XVI.2), the perforation could be abandoned and the ground plane reinstituted without danger that the beholder would associate it with the ancient classical meaning of the material ground: as on the sarcophagus of

57) It is instructive to look at this perforated tendril with a magnifying glass, because then the wild and sketchy workmanship becomes clear in detail while observation with the eye and the natural size still gives the impression of a clean and exact design; this is a kind of effect, which the famous colorists of the seventeenth century attempted with the same artistic media (even though naturally with other techniques).

58) Sometimes one finds in such late Roman perforated works also distributed weapon-like pointed ovals, circles, rhombes with an infinite rapport. A very instructive example for this is the opening of a sword-sheath (found in Cologne) with the engraved inscription AVSONI VIVAS, published by A. Kisa. Whoever is bold enough to bring the piece in connection with the poet of the Mosella, will at least not meet chronological difficulties. Its decorative principles differ from the later Saracen ones only in that the small perforated patterns are not yet entirely overlapped by the large ones, a fact which on first sight cannot be seen and which was thus not used in principle, but rather to keep the balance with the classical tradition.

Constantia and on the sarcophagi from Ravenna this reinstated ground level had now to appear as an ideal spatial ground. The transition to this point is represented through the gold fibula, fig. 52, which was found during the year 1895 in the stadium on the Palatine hill in Rome (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1895, p. 360) and which is now in the Terme Museum. Its shape looked almost completely like the fibula from Apahida, which is important for its date. Decorated, however, is just the upper side of the end of the catchplate and, again, with a cross of the same Latin type on an ornamental ground; but this time the ground is not perforated or created by placing something under it as in pl. XIV.9, but made through casing: entirely analogous to the engraved woodwork in the late gothic period, or — in order to quote a «better example» — to the Coptic stone reliefs figs. 43 and 44 which generally illustrate the immediate continuation of what was begun in fig. 52. No longer were the pattern motives here undercut (as in the Constantinian reliefs or in the Museo Paolino pilaster, fig. 10) but due to the dense sequence of motives the ground appears to be dark and shadowy in opposite to the shiny projections of the pattern, which appears as one absolute plane. This silhouette-like pattern now lacks neither clarity nor connection; it is a fine wavy tendril with circular rolls ending in vine leaves, on the stems of which birds are swaying. Here prevails the law of strict symmetrical composition because each turn of the tendril as well as each leaf and finally each bird (turning its body frontally and its heads backwards) stands in an unchangeable relation to its opposite. And now the beholder realizes immediately that to the left and to the right one may repeat infinitely the same tendrils with the same changes and that two neighboring tendrils will always maintain the same close reciprocal relationship. To put it another way: it is the principle of infinite rapport, through which the organically animated motive with plant-like or animalic content and meaning are subjected to the abstract law of crystallization. The medium for this is the same as was used by ancient Near Eastern and by archaic art: the so-called heraldic style; but, while its usage was in those art periods carried by a tactile perception, it is now dominated by an optical perception and a coloristic intention. This step of development in *Kunstwollen* was maintained up to now essentially by the Saracen art in the Near East, which, of course, does not exclude a certain degree of progress in a particular case already postulated through general consideration.

A lucky occasion permits us to set a certain year of the fifth century A.D. as *terminus ante quem* for the perfection of the decorative system observed in the fibula from the Palatine. One of the few securely dated mass finds from the migration period and perhaps most important of all — from the tomb of the king of the Franks, Childerich, who died in

401 A.D. — contained also a gold fibula the shape and decorative scheme of which is the continuation of fig. 52. Even though the original is lost, one has at least through Chiflet's publication of the entire find (Anastasis Childerici regis, p. 182, and later in the historical main work about the find which is still nowadays worth reading: Cochet's Tombeau de Childerich) a faithful drawing. Furthermore, the distinguished director of the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck, Professor F. Ritter v. Wieser, found in his museum a parallel to the Childerich fibula and published it in the periodical of the Ferdinandeum in 1888 (Ein Seitenstück sur Fibula des Frankenkönigs Childerich I.)<sup>59</sup>. The example from Innsbruck (fig. 53) the provenance of which we know nothing about, unfortunately, when compared with the fibula from the Palatine, shows some differences in shape among which we may mention just the cylindrical catchplate (in place of the roof-like slanted planes). The decoration of the catch plate (which in this case also covers the underside) is exactly the same with the same pattern of perforated ground as in fig. 52; the pattern is also composed according to the same law of the infinite rapport, but its motives are non longer so clearly derived from the animated organic nature, but closer to the geometric manner, which *per se* is more appropriate for the function of abstract-coloristic decorations: crosses<sup>60</sup>, upright and diagonally placed and octagonal stars in offset rows which are pre-drawn through a rhomboid net created with crossing diagonal lines. The coloristic intent here seems due to the geometric small pattern reached in an unsurpassable degree as on the perforated upperside of the fibula of Apahida. How the same *Kunstwollen* is expressed in stone can be learned from the framing *guilloche* of fig. 5, but which shows a different treatment in that the pattern is not kept here as a pure silhouette on the plane, but has received through the medium of engraving articulation on the plane. Another intermediate step in stone, which leads from the perforated manner of the fibula of Apahida

59) Professor v. Wieser assumes that both fibulae come from the same workshop, because they are consistent down to the subordinate detail. The fact that the fibula from Innsbruck is different because made from gilded bronze does not mean anything. Yet it must be considered that the strut of the Childeric fibula does not cut yet so rudely into the decorative part of the footpiece, but is separated as a flat frame (such as on the fibula from Apahida) and that also the surrounding narrow frame of the footpiece is in the Childeric fibula still kept a little bit wider. Thus the Childeric fibula appears to be a nuance less « barbaric », that means less turning away from the inherited postulate of classical antiquity that the parts be connected on the plane. But even if the Innsbruck fibula was made later than the Childeric fibula from the year 481 A.D. or shortly before, one will for the former in no case be able to go beyond the fifth century A.D.

60) As christian symbol? The pagan Childeric had certainly not taken them as such, but perhaps the craftsman in the imperial studio had.

to the engraved manner of the fibula from the Palatine and the Innsbruck fibula, we may recognize in the marble fragment of a frieze from the fifth century A.D. which is now in the Museum at Gizeh (fig. 54), its wavy acanthus tendril with the triangular prongs of the leaves recalls even with the motive, itself, the underside of the fibula from Apahida. Between the triangular spikes of the leaves there is lying here in every case a similarly shaped (that means almost triangular) ground through which is revealed a clear inclination toward the creation of a so-called reciprocal pattern, that is a coloristic reciprocal compensation between pattern and ground, light and dark. One sees here more clearly than in the fibula of Apahida on one side the genetic connection of this late Roman treatment of the acanthus with the pre-Constantinian drill technique, on the other side the leading motives of the *Kunstwollen* which now turn again to a clearer and more tactile perception of the individual shapes without abandoning the basic coloristic medium.

We may stop at this point in our survey of the development of perforated works, which might already make this art medium look superfluous, because the perforated work is replaced by punched works in order to answer a question which might already have occurred to some readers. Lately we got know a number of monuments (fibulae) which all have the same purpose (to hold together the two corners of a chlamys on the right shoulder of the person who wears it with a safety pin) and which have, for that reason, certain basic traits of outer appearance in common. Our art historical observation was so far almost exclusively devoted to the level planes which could be found just on the catch plate; should the development of the Roman *Kunstwollen* not also have been expressed through the alteration of the curved parts and the connection of all — also the flat — parts in space, that is, with one word, in the alterations of the «shape»?

This was certainly the case, and from the very moment that we acknowledge this reality, we are already obliged to trace the origin of this cubical form of the fibulae — the so-called crossbow — back to the pre-Constantinian Empire. A thorough art historical solution to this problem would, however, not be possible without a reflection about other more or less related types of fibulae and their development and even finally concerning the entire preserved abundant material of metal jewelry from the Empire.

Just one look at the relevant material and its abundance as found in the provinces of the Danube and mainly held in Austrian-Hungarian collections, shows that this means a special challenge which cannot be solved by one individual as a parttime job. Preliminary work, not to be underestimated, was done here already by the scholars of natural history who, following the example of anthropological and ethnographic societies,

did a classification of the finds according to their types of shape and recorded also as diligently as possible supporting information for dates<sup>61</sup>. Yet it is understandable that these scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century considered the fibula type as a « species » in the meaning established by Darwin and that they imagined the development just as a mechanistic advancing through an assimilation to purpose, raw material and technique. The archaeologists had so far no different idea and the natural historians were ahead of them in the precision of their research, so that it is not only understandable, but also realistic and fruitful that the natural historians so far took the leadership for the fields under discussion. Yet one should now realize that a final solution of the scholarly question connected with it can only be made by archaeologists – however, not by those who see the objects just with the antiquarian and iconographic interests of the philologists, epigraphists and chronologists, but by those to whom belongs the future and who try to recognize in the shaping of even the smallest functional vessel the same leading laws of the particular *Kunstwollen* which shaped in contemporary sculpture and painting the objects on the plane and in space for the beholder in a redeeming appreciation.

Yet in order not to avoid our challenge to recognize in the change of the entire shape of the fibula the same prevailing law of development which also led to the change among perforated works, let us look at least to the number of post-Constantinian fibulae already known and only add the Julianus fibula in the Vienna Kunsthistorische Museum (fig. 55a-b) from the fourth century A.D., because the latter constitutes the transition to the older, partly still pre-Constantinian step of development of the « cross-bow fibula ». A general preliminary observation concerning the fibula is necessary. From the beginning it consists of two essential parts: the pin and the bow. The first was, due to its function and, furthermore, by the mass of the gathering of drapery, covered while worn and not available for decorative treatment; this was originally reserved for the strap. The point where strap and pin meet was, so to say, the joint of the fibula: in the sense of classical art they were not separate parts, but bordering parts, where, at the same time, there had to be made visible a clear separation and a connection of the parts on the plane. Hence, one can clearly see in the oldest fibulae from the very beginning beside the dominating bow, also, the spiral spring and the coverplate for the pin.

61) It suffices to mention here as an example to the numerous works by Otto Tischler (quoted in the publications of the *Physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft in Königsberg* 1891, p. 11 ff.). The meritorious book by O. Almgreen « *Studien über nordeuropäische Fibelformen* » gives an idea how an equally careful comprehensive work could enlighten scholarship for the even richer finds from the Danube countries.

During the Roman Empire there can be observed among the fibulae the tendency toward a gradual loosening of the connection between the parts on the plane, which was so characteristically present in the sculpture of the time.

There were two ways that led to diametrical opposites: either the strap devoured and covered all the rest so that the joints disappeared under it — the strictly centralistic so-called disc fibula, or the joints were emancipated to independent parts, and massive shapes originated to which group all the fibulae investigated above belong. The disc fibulae were better suited for the development directed toward the flattening of projections because they offered in place of the previously curved and structured shapes level discs which could be decorated in any way possible; we will find them still late in the migration period. That they represent the more elegant version can be concluded from the fact that, according to images on coins, metal shields (shields of Theodosius in Madrid) mosaics (Justinian in Ravenna) and according to direct literary sources, they belonged to the decoration of the imperial dress. The second shape which was more common and as such a popular form with a greater future and more possibility to develop emancipated the former spiral joint to the toppiece and the former shoe for the needle to the end piece <sup>62</sup>.

Naturally, the importance of the strap was thus considerably reduced and it constituted in the new popular shape just one among three parts which were coordinated with one another. Further development would lead to an even larger limitation of its position within the new popular form. Added to the tendency of emancipation of the parts forming the joints is another toward the flattening of the visible parts of the shape. This flattening was by nature alien to the curved strap. Indeed, one tried to break it at a straight angle and to organize its curved shape to a polygon, composed of planes, for which the Vienna fibula pl. XVI.4-6 may serve as example; yet this solution seems not to have satisfied, because here the catchplate for the pin had to remain hidden behind an extension of the bow, and one could achieve this more easily through a decisive transition toward the disc-shaped fibula. Hence, there remained only the second way to limit the obstreperous bow in favor of other parts, particularly the catchplate and to divest these more obedient parts of their formerly curved shape and bring them closer to the plane. Having thus followed

62) From this change in style one understands best the transition from the spiral spring to the hinge as it took place during the Empire; the hinge means indeed in comparison with the spring a hiding or at least a making coarser of the function of the joints. If one made the spring as in the Julianus fibula (fig. 55) disappear in the polygonal massive crossing tube, then there was no other impression left for the eye than what could be more easily achieved with the hinge.

the goals of the late Roman development of the « cross-bow fibula » according to the leading tendency of the general *Kunstwollen* at the time, we may now turn to the observation of the process in the example of the four fibulae already mentioned.

1. The Julianus fibula (fig. 55). The strap is equal to other parts; its sides are sharply declining so that the beholder sees immediately only the narrow ridge with the *guilloche* in niello. Classical feeling can still be observed in the connections which lead to the tube of the bow via a freely chased tendril (in other cases such as fig. 56 via a circumscribed palmette tendril) and toward the end of the catchplate via a palmette massive in its outlines, but having detailed fine fans. The bow is made from a hexagonal tube with three knots in the shape of onions (two on the ends of the crosspiece and one at the head of the bow) they again are set off from the tubes through filigreed cuffs, and decorated on the sides either through niello or perforated ornament (tendril in S-shape with forked ends, the ones in niello have in addition a bunch of three grapes at the end). The catchplate is broken into three planes on the flattened upper side (again recalling the hexagon), the plane in the middle has the inscription in niello: IVLIANE VIVAS (which, considering its date, could relate very well to the Imperial Apostate) the two lateral ones still have tactile ornaments projecting in the shape of peltai. A slightly earlier step in this development shows the peltai in freely perforated work added to the two sides of the end; the tendency to suppress free articulation and the composing of the mass in closed outline led to the fact that the peltai were glued closely to the center of the catchplate until the complete flattening (Apahida) did away with this remnant of free tactile articulation.

2. Fibula from Apahida (pl. XVI.1-3). Particularly in comparison with the catchplate the bow became a disadvantage; its ridge is now slimmer, the two sides less steep, connection with the bow remains the same, the one with the catchplate is limited to a filigree cuff (the wire recession around it between bow and catchplate was not visible from above). The bow has, in comparison with the one of the Julianus fibula, lost volume, while the catchplate becomes by far the quantitatively most important part and is flattened in the important upperside to one single plane. That this process was already finished towards the end of the fourth century (even though the fibula from Apahida belongs still to the fifth century) is demonstrated through a fibula in the Museum of Split (fig. 57)<sup>63</sup>. On its long

63) The bow and the footpiece made from iron are heavily oxidized; the bow was decorated with the damascened pattern made from lamellas in precious metals. On the headpiece are three buttons with facets and three punched concentric circles. Also the silver plate of the footpiece is rather punched than engraved.

and level footpiece is placed a silver plate engraved with the inscription EMMANUEL which, according to Professor W. Kubitschek's cautious opinion, belongs to the aforesaid time for paleographic and epigraphic reasons.

3. The fibula from the Palatine follows entirely in shape the one from Apahida.

4. The Innsbruck fibula. The bow is again very short; the ridge disappeared entirely so that the two sides are even more visible. The connection with the catchplate is done away with entirely, in that the bow is reduced to a remnant of the character of a technical strut. The bow shows in shape no further development than what was reached at the end of the fourth century; indeed, the fibula XVI.4-6 which is a clearly earlier one, already shows the blunted tips of the buttons, while the Childeric fibula, which is so close to the one from Innsbruck, has still the common onion buttons<sup>64</sup>. The catchplate shows only on the lower side the progress that can be seen in the two slanted planes from the Apahida fibula which are now connected to one single barrel vaulted curved plane; thus, there exists a return to the tactile element, which, however, is balanced through

64) That two buttons are missing at the headpiece of the Innsbruck Childeric fibula is explained through the fact that they are not mended, but movable, because they were connected with a particular manipulation of the needle hinge. The crowning button was also the piece of the needle to be manipulated, which had a loop at the place where it passed through the crossing tube of the headpiece. The missing lateral button, however, was the piece where the crossing bar was manipulated, which by being pushed through that loop helped the needle. If one wanted to open this lock, one had first to pull the crossing bar and thereafter the needle. The same kind of lock has the Childeric fibula, the one from Apahida differs in that the crowning button here is removable and just a triangular little plate, which could be opened up, seems to be cut out; here the upper (this time not to be manipulated) end of the needle could temporarily be pushed in the hollow space of the crowning button. That this complicated manner of a locking a hinge (which one could call «movable hinge») was invented at last during the third century is proven through the silver fibula, illustrated on fig. 58 in three views, coming from Viminacium (in place of the present Kostolac) on the Servian bank of the Danube (in the collection of Mr. Ignaz Weitert in Pancsova). The circular and perforated piece to be manipulated located on one end of the cylindrical crossing tube (the predecessor of the hexagonal of the post-Constantinian period), serves here in order to pull the crossing bar, which is pushed through the loop on the upper end of the needle. A collar, which constitutes the connection between strap and tube, is the beginning of the development of a particular type of fibula with large, semi-circular headplate, an example of which is known to us through pl. XVI. 4-6 (yet which is otherwise atypical). The decoration in gold filigree on the collar and on the footpiece demonstrates also still a remnant of tactile perception; in the most typical period of late Roman art filigree can only be found in the most remote border areas of the Empire, while it gains increasing importance with the increase of the return to a tactile perception, particularly in the East Roman art since Justinian.



an absolute cover of the surface with small patterns in an infinite rapport in the widest coloristic sense possible.

We may now return to the interrupted thread of thought about the development of perforated works in metal.

The final result of this development, as far as we have hitherto seen (in the decoration of the catchplate of the fibula from Apahida) is, strictly speaking, still to be attributed to the middle Roman rather than the late Roman style because a particular remnant of relief existed in this latest offshoot of imperial Roman perforated work as much as in its very beginnings during the early Roman Empire. During the course of the fifth century one therefore turned, as it was shown, generally toward punched work. From the sixth or the seventh century on we again find perforated metal works in large numbers which in the fullest sense of the word we may attribute to the late Roman manner of style. To the great part they come from graves which represent the heritage of barbaric nations.

In view of these finds the question is raised immediately whether we recognize such products really as Roman imperial art or as original inventions by barbarians. All art objects, through which the preliminary question just raised will be decided, are to be discussed in the second part of this work. Concerning the pertinent perforated works, we may already anticipate here the result in order to complete our knowledge of the development of perforated works.

Here belong first of all earrings (fig. 59, 60), mostly made out of gold with large ring and tuba-like appendages (therefore usually called «basket earrings»). The essential aspect for us is the creation of a dome in the shape of half a sphere for the appendage, which is made out of thin lamellas constituting a perforated linear, wave-like, tendril ornament. The basic difference of all that we have so far seen in this kind of perforation is the fact that it is, so to say, not based on an ideal plane from which the pattern would rise in a flat relief, but that the lamellas appear to be composed in free space, thus all perception of relief has disappeared and the bridge to antiquity is broken. The disc-like cover of the appendage as well as the bordering part of the ring are decorated with filigree and little buckles. Such earrings were particularly numerous in the tombs of the Langobards as found on Italian soil; also the examples fig. 59 (in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, found near Trent) and fig. 60 (in the museum in Innsbruck, also from South Tyrol) belong to the same cultural area. Such finds are distributed not only far across middle Europe, but also in Egypt (made from silver often with Arabic coins added to it), where Germanic tribes never went. We have thus to look for the origin of these earrings in East Roman workshops; the export of which is not surprising from there to Egypt and to the countryside of the Italian Adriatic coast.

Another shape of perforated metal works of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries are the buckles such as the bronze ones illustrated in figs. 61 and 62 even though both are lacking the tongue (probably iron, and therefore, oxidized away).

The perforation of the ring of the buckle and the little opening for the tongue was dictated by function; an artistic *Wollen* is expressed here exclusively through the perforation of the belt plate achieved through a circumscribed three-leaved palmette. Engraved lines in the interior, following the outlines, permit the meaning of the pattern to be recognized more distinctly. This type of perforated buckle shows nearly the same distribution as the basket earrings. The example, fig. 61, belonging to the attorney Tranquilli in Ascola Piceno, was found in a Langobard tomb in Piceno; fig. 62, in the Vienna Museum of Natural History, comes from Southern Russia. Similar examples, acquired in the Fayoum in Egypt, belong to me, besides some others, which are perforated in a different manner, but display the same manner of style, and were found elsewhere in Egypt. It can be directly demonstrated that these buckles have the closest connection with late Roman art because exactly the same circumscribed palmettes with the same characteristic linear engraving (fig. 63) are seen in the perforated patterns of a marble screen from the sixth century in San Vitale in Ravenna<sup>65</sup> to the left of the altar.

The difference between this type of perforation and the early one consists mainly in the engraving of the plane in place of the tactile curve of the plane during the earlier Empire, the absolute silhouette of the middle Empire.<sup>1</sup>

### The Notch (22)

A bronze buckle (fig. 64) may familiarize us with the nature of the second art medium used by the advanced Roman Empire in order to express its *Kunstwollen* which is directed toward coloristic effects<sup>66</sup>. The two parts, which constitute the piece of jewelry, to the left the actual buckle consisting of a ring (lacking, probably iron and hence rusted away) and the tongue with

65) The Cathedral and the Museum in Ravenna contain still additional numbers of perforated marble fences and traceries.

66) The buckle fig. 64 came from the previous collection Spöttl to the Vienna Museum of Natural History, and comes, according to its previous owner, from Rad in Hungary, which means from the soil of a Roman province, previously Pannonia, for which reason it also was included in Hampel's *Atlas* pl. 128. Together with the buckle was also found the belt plate illustrated on pl. XXII.4.

a plate, to the right the corresponding plate – are moved apart for the sake of clarity in our illustration, even though at the time when the buckle was actually used they constituted a close unit in that the buckle ring covered the oval section of the corresponding plate. In numerous cases (pl., XVII.5, XX.2-4, XXI.3) the two parts appear, therefore, to be made from one coherent piece. Intended was obviously the removal of all external articulation to produce a general outline in its massiveness as simple as possible, enclosed and avoiding all external connection, a kind of tendency which we have observed in the composition of imperial art since Augustus with a steadily increasing degree and which we saw enter its most important phase after Constantine. Furthermore, there should be added that the pertinent works such as buckles, plates, and tongues were obviously always connected with the leather-belt and its appendixes and probably part of the outfit for the Roman soldier; the material was exclusively bronze. Silver (and partly gilded) objects we know only from finds proven to have had relations with the barbarians, which will, therefore, just find consideration in the second part of this work.

If we disregard the tube in the shape of an astragal, which constitutes the end of the corresponding plate, and the animal heads, which hold the axis of the hinge of the buckle ring in their mouth (to be discussed later), the decoration of all planes is done here in a manner which has no correspondence in all ancient art. Characteristic is the lack of any horizontal plane; there are just lines without width, which form the highest reliefs as well as the deepest engraving. Besides the outer frame in the form of pearls, which separates the individual ornamental fields from one another, the entire plane appears, so to say, to be made out of notch-like ridges and depressions, whereby the tops of the ridges as well as the bottom of the depression are reduced to the ideal width of the line. One may perceive this technique rightfully or not as positive (relief) or as negative (engraving). We have the same doubts if we try to recognize the motive of the pattern. Here already the preliminary question leads us to uncertainty: what is pattern and what is ground? If we have a relief, then obviously the ridges would be the pattern; if we have an engraving, then we would have mainly to look at the depressions. However, as already mentioned, we are undecided about this relation, and must try to figure out its meaning from the configuration of the ornament. Here we see on the belt plate a well known motive: the *guilloche*. If we pursue this further, we observe that it is made by depressions (that is the side of depressions and not the bottom), while the tops of the ridges to the left and to the right constitute an external border. Also the corresponding plate shows motives already known: along the tube in the form of an astragal runs a spiral-like wavy tendril, while each of the smaller sides have the spiral

wave (Vitruvian scroll). But here the tendril is not constituted through depressions but through ridges; and, in the case of the *rincean* it remains entirely unclear if ridge or depression constitute the pattern, because whether we look for the lines of the depressions or the mountains, the (reciprocal) pattern is forced upon us in either case. Hence, there can no longer be any doubt that hiding the relation between ground and pattern and the subsequently developing lack of clarity of the ornamental motive was intended. But those two negative goals cannot have been the only basis for the artistic intention; yet, what was its positive side? Obviously, what replaced a clear pattern and ground as the dominating element for the impression of the beholder: that is the continuous rhythmic change between light and dark. Among two slanted sides, which are next to one another, and which are divided into planes, one is always reflecting only light while the other remains always in the shadow. There is not an absolute free light which would penetrate all depressions evenly and vertically, even without that light would fall specifically from one side. A single source among the numerous direct and indirect light sources will always assume a dominant role and the sides of the depression illuminated by it constitute, so to say, the sunny side, its compliment, however, the shadowy sides of the valleys. The stronger the lateral lights are (XX.1-3), the more emphatically the contrast between light and shadowy side and between light and dark is expressed; it is never entirely eliminated.

We immediately recognize the same coloristic *Kunstabsicht* on which perforated work such as the fibula from Apahida is based.

Indeed, this intention appears in the present case to be reached in a more perfect way than through perforation, because in the latter case the light pattern and the dark perforated ground remain the same without changes, while this relation changes in the bronzes such as fig. 64 with any movement of their carrier; what was just the light side, may be the next moment a shadowy side, through which the character of flickering, wavy and the uncertain element is essentially increased. Now we understand why the surfaces of these vases were notched as entirely wedge-like relief and engraving, in a way which was unheard of during all previous antiquity. Even if there was preliminary work through molding and punching, the completion points to the direction of the intended effect which, as a thorough investigation of better preserved finds demonstrates, was done with the graver; we have thus for this technique no better term than notch.

Since we have now determined the *Kunstabsicht* which led to the rise of the notch-technique in metal we have first to define more clearly the ornamental motives used by the notch in order to show its coloristic effect. In fig. 65. I gathered a number of motives which one can find on the notched bronzes on pls. XVII-XX.

These are, first of all, linear motives which obviously served best the intended effect and the chosen media. But they are also well known motives, which all can be traced back to the classical spiral tendril; tendril in shape of an S, Vitruvian scroll, three-leaved palmette, circumscribed by the shape of peltai or hearts, furthermore vortex shapes like three and four vortexes. If with the choice of these motives there seems to be expressed a return to the classical, even archaic ornamentation of the Greeks, then we have learned their preliminary steps already in the perforated works, the ornamentation of which was based on the pure tendril before the acanthus. An art with predominantly coloristic intentions has generally no use for bodily touchable motives and is, therefore, inclined to limit the touchable bodily materiality as much as possible. From this point of view there can be best comprehended the transformation of the previous fat acanthus leaf into slim, deeply engraved, spikes as it developed out of the same coloristic artistic intention beside the drilled acanthus since the second century of the Empire; the Diocletian buildings at Split are marvelous examples of the two types – the drilled and the spiked acanthus from that part of their development which preceded their entire coloristic disintegration in light (positive) and dark (negative) small spikes (fig. 54). The cuneiform ridging of the leaves (in fig. 54 in the three partial tendril chalyx in the middle and on the right side) was maintained during the entire late Roman period and is especially characteristic for that East Roman ornamentation of the borderline, the invention of which one would have liked recently to attribute to the Langobards. The notch was also able to transform less flexible motifs into its light and dark system, such as the egg and dart re-occurring most frequently on these bronzes (pl. XVII. 3, 5, 6, XIX.2) receiving in contrast to the strict ridge shapes of the other engravings smoother and more trough-shaped hollows<sup>67</sup>.

That among the compositions of the notched bronzes existed also the infinite rapport (pls. XX.4, XXI.3) naturally is not surprising.

Among the ornaments of the buckle fig. 64 which is not notched, the two wild animalistic heads deserve particular attention (besides the tube in the shape of the astragal from the corresponding plate), because they hold in their mouths the axis of the hinge. They fulfill thus

67) Excellently dated examples of this change (which is so typical of the *Kunstwollen* of the advanced Empire) from the convex egg and dart to a concave form are presented through the encasings of the medallions issued in Ravenna after 402 A.D. of Honorius and Galla Placidia in the Louvre illustrated in Frohner, *Les médaillons de l'empire romain*, p. 242, 243. Also this concave shaping of the leaves was inherited by the late Roman period and we will find it again in the second part of this work in finds from East Roman provinces in Hungary and the Caucasus belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries.

the typical ancient function of separation at the simultaneous connection on the plane; the impression of necessity, which these ancient art works evoke in us, is based to a large degree on this evident common motivation of the adjacent individual parts, which was principally abandoned by late Roman art. Here we are interested in the tactile treatment of the heads with a beard and split ears; in opposition to this the fur is indicated through punched points in the same coloristic manner as we can, for example, observe in the hair and beard of the imperial busts of Marcus Aurelius.

Heads of wild animals as holders of the axis for the hinge appear almost in all notched buckles, where they are like the development of the relief, losing gradually all projections of the curved plane and eventually becoming just a plane (pls. XIX.2, 4 XX.4). The animal figures, however, play among still a much more important role the large bronze.

Among the belt plates are also those which have a point in the shape of a triangle, furthermore, tongues, which already through their function suggest a pointed end. An echo of classical feeling is again revealed in that the middle Roman period, when at the time the first products of this type of craft most probably originated, a crossing of two straight lines in the shape of a tip of an isosceles triangle was felt to be harsh and disturbing and one tried to give the bordering outlines a moving shape in spite of the tendency toward simplicity and massiveness without articulation based on the change of style. This is the artistic reason for the existence of these animalistic figures, which we find in numerous notched bronzes along the ending legs of the triangle. One of the earliest examples of this is the plate (fig. 66) from the Aquileia. Here the obviously undulated line of the back of the lions was emphasized, which shortly before its conclusion again reaches an effective end at the tail in the shape of a dragon head. The treatment of the detail corresponds entirely with the wild animal heads of buckle fig. 64. The disc between the mouth of the two lions and the exclusively decorative function of these animal figures proves to be the same degree as the two dragon heads at the end of the tail which recall a chimaera. The tongue (fig. 67) from Aquileia, also shows two reclining lions in a very similar arrangement. On the plate pl. XVII.6 are marine monsters with fish-tails which undoubtedly reveal that they belong to the motives of Greek antiquity. In the tongue pl. XII.9 a recession, which now again is filled with an isolated animal head, is added above the end of the isosceles triangle.

The same is done in a more sketchy execution in fig. 68, and pl. XIX.9, in pl. XIX.7 this sketchiness becomes crude. In either case, by placing the head of the animal behind close to the tail of the one in front, one is reminded of the ancient motive of animals chasing one another (particularly in the form of the hare hunt). The latest representatives of the two reclining

quadrupeds in profile are the tongues, pl. XXII.1 and 7, where the animal figures seem already flattened to the level of the plane.

A particular type of buckle from the fifth century, which is close to the notched bronzes and will be discussed later, has an enlargement of the use of the animal-head motive on the tip of the tongue. This was certainly not done according to classical taste, because it never would have used the motive which already functioned as motionless holding, at the same time for such a basically different function, where one makes a forward motion in order to pierce something. All older buckles (e.g., pl. XIV.6) therefore, let the tongue end as a fine tip. The middle Empire produced gradually broader and more massive shapes of tongues, these were then slanted at the side (such as the fibulae discussed above) and also otherwise decorated with notches (pls. XVIII.5, XX.3); in individual cases, wings were added, (pl. IXX.5)<sup>68</sup> to which then were added additional notches (fig. 69). An actual unmistakable animal head I have yet to find on any tongue of a notched buckle. Indeed, it appears not merely imaginable but even probable that the barbarian beholder and user of such works would have recognized the notches of the tongue as eyes and taken the entire object for an animal head. Here we have to recognize that the Mediterranean makers of notched buckles did not attempt to place an animal head at the tip of the tongue.

We must now trace the moments of rise and disappearance of notch and the development in between the two. The fact that the monuments of this technique belong almost exclusively to the decoration of a leather belt makes us have a short look at the historic place and importance of this part of the costume. The most important part of the metal decoration of the belt is again the buckle; hence, one may ask as well about the historic place of the buckle and the costume characterized by it.

Two pieces of jewelry from the mass of pre-Carolingian (in the widest sense «prehistoric») debris and tomb finds play a prominent role, and have hence always occupied the attention of scholars in natural history doing typological research: fibula and buckle. Among the oldest finds there are no buckles; the fibula is here the means to hold the costume together. Then we see for a time both types appearing together. At least from the seventh century A.D. on we find tombs that contain buckles alone without

68) This buckle of the fourth century only recalls the notch technique in the row of eggs otherwise its decoration is made through molds and casing, as well as through punching and silverplating. In spite of the lack of this actual notch and the perforation we find here again the familiar linear tendril motive (s-tendrils and the spiral *rinceau*). One may also point to the framing in the shape of pearls through punched concentric circles.

fibulae <sup>69</sup>. There follows the necessary conclusion that fibula and buckle belong to two different steps in the development of costume. Let us look at some basic traits in both.

The principles for the development of costume are dictated by the same *Kunstwollen* which governs everything inasmuch as those of any other creative activity of man. The oldest, strictly tactile *Kunstwollen* obviously found its greatest satisfaction in the avoidance of all cover for the body, which would result in blurring the tactile quality of the body. This perception is still obvious among the Egyptians; inasmuch as this nation adopted the costume, it always remained either tactile and without folds, or where folds were present they were added as flat as possible – more tactile than apparent. The way in which the Greeks solved the problem of the costume remains until nowadays one of their greatest achievements. The basic principle of their *Kunstwollen* – clear division and yet harmonic necessary connection between the parts – has been realized in their costumes, so that the garment is free and independent from the body yet clearly follows the limbs. The medium for this was folded drapery: the garment was thrown freely about the body, not pulled close and also not bound. The means of holding it had also to be free and independent; this is the origin of the fibula. An advance beyond this step reached through the classical ancient costume is already the chiton with a belt. The garment is still moving freely around the limbs, but at least at one place it seems already to be subordinated to the body and brought into its service. As long as this function could be achieved with a narrow ribbon with a knot, the character of the fibula costume was still dominant. But gradually the tendency increased to have the garment held more firmly; the ribbon became a hard leather belt, which requires again something more resistant to hold it – the metal buckle. As long as the belt remained narrow, a simple ring with tongue sufficed (so almost exclusively still in the buckles found at Pompei) <sup>70</sup>. As soon as it became wider, there rose gradually the

69) For example, in the region of the Alemans. Hence one could be tempted to perceive the transition from the fibula costume to the one with buckles as a symbol of « barbarization » of the Mediterranean nations through the Germans. This erroneous thought may be immediately rebutted with the hint towards the most remarkable fact that the fibula especially among those Germans who never came in immediate contact with the Mediterranean culture – these are the Northern Germans – remained the most favorite and richly decorated piece until the time of the Vikings.

70) I recall one single example among those, which was decorated with a simple hexagonal plate without ornament. However, it is not without doubt that the buckles in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, presumably coming from Pompei, are actually all together from the first century A.D. I do not mean that the buckles exhibited in a separate vitrine, which J. Undset suspected in a remarkable, still often quoted report about the antiquities of the migration period in Italy (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1891,



necessity to add plates, to which a buckle with a hinge could be attached, and which permitted a firm attachment to a leather belt by means of several rivets. The development of such plates, which falls in the pre-Constantinian Empire, seems to have been very slow.

The buckle (pl. XIV.6) from the earlier Empire shows the plate divided into an upper and lower part, among which the lower (simply ribbon-like) one had to fulfill the function of fastening the buckle to the belt, but remained invisible, while the upper one (which was perforated) had to satisfy only the demands of the *Kunstwollen*. Even on soldiers' tombstones of the middle Empire (Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, I.4.6; I.4., 6; I.9, 4; I.11, 6) we still see large semicircular buckle rings without any addition placed at the end of the belt to be imagined as a loop; the same monuments also show the belt decorated with a row of rectangular plates, each of which appears to be decorated with chased buckles (still displaying tactile perception)<sup>71</sup>. Now one can see the advantages, which the notch had for the metal decoration of the belt: it permitted the attachment of large and strong flat plates, which were able to fulfill equally both the function of attachment and artistic satisfaction. We, therefore, conclude because of the history of development of costume, that the notched bronzes do not appear until the middle Roman Empire. Hence, the date at which we arrive through the observed *Kunstwollen* is supported. We must now trace more closely the history of the notch, as far as it can be done with the media presently at hand.

It is first of all reasonable to look to the statistics of the finds, because the findspots are almost exclusively connected with former Roman settlements. To begin with Austria: we know of pertinent finds from Enns (Laureacum) in Upper Austria and the nearby Oed in Lower Austria, as well as from Wels (Ovilabis) in Upper Austria, Maxglan near Salzburg, Aquileia, and Salona. In the other countries of the Hungarian Crown, the Museum in Agram has some pertinent finds from Sissek (Siscia); another Pannonian find (from Raab) is shown in fig. 64. Across the Danube we have so far only three widely spread examples found in Szamos-Ujvar (Banat) (Hampel, *Atlas*, pl. 315 our pl. XXII.9); even this area was not left entirely out of the Roman sphere of influence. Finds exclusively from barbaric country have never been made. Outside our Austrian monarchy

p. 14 ff.). He believed them to be late Roman belonging to the late migration period: also the collection said to be particularly Pompeian, contains types which would not surprise us among the Danish finds from the moors.

71) As will be shown in the second part of this work, in the bordering areas of Roman imperial civilization, the tactile perception maintained importance in individual cases until late Roman times.

were notched bronzes of the earlier defined type found in England <sup>72</sup>, Belgium <sup>73</sup>, France <sup>74</sup>, the Rhine countries <sup>75</sup>, and Italy <sup>76</sup>; a single piece in the Western Peloponnese <sup>77</sup>. The places of the finds are thus distributed almost over the entire West Roman Empire; on the later East Roman side they were found just in places facing the Adriatic coast, Salona and Olympia. It is further worthwhile mentioning that the other finds, which were discovered together with the notched bronzes, never clearly belong to the late Roman period <sup>78</sup>.

The memorial stone found at Chester in England is to be considered the oldest example of the notch. Its Roman inscription has to be attributed, for paleographic and epigraphic reasons, to the beginning of the third century (illustrated in Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, part I., vol. VI, pl. VII, 2); its strong cornice shows on one side a zig-zag pattern and on the other an ornament such as our pl. XX.4 and XXI.3, both – assuming the correctness of the illustration in Roach Smith – are undoubtedly executed with the chisel as a notch. The oldest dated monument of this technique made in metal comes also from the third century: the casing of a medallion with a representation of the emperor Tetricus (269-272 A.D.) illustrated in Fröhner, *Medallions de l'empire romain*, p. 231. Also of gold, but made in a much more superficial manner, are the notch-shaped casings of some emperor medallions of the fourth century from the large find from Szilagy-

72) Roach Smith, *Collectanea antiqua* IV. pl. 42.

73) *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur* VI., XIV.

74) Roach Smith above pl. 43 (find from Houdan, *Seine et Oise*).

75) There are plenty in museums at the Rhine and they are published such as in Lindenschmit *Handbuch*, pl. VII.

76) J. Undset, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1891, p. 14 ff.

77) *Ausgrabungen von Olympia IV. Bronzen*, pl. 71, 1357: a tongue, the attribution of which to the notched bronzes with animal figures was first recognized by B. Salin and mentioned in the *Månadsblad of the Academy of Stockholm*, 1894 (*Några tidiga former af germanske fornasker i England*, p. 11) even though their reproduction leaves much to be desired, especially because the designer did not recognize the hind legs of the reclining animals as such.

78) Among the Austrian finds only the one from Maxglan in the Museum at Salzburg (illustrated together on pl. XVIII) has a number of accompanying objects. These are especially: 1. two open bracelets with sharp ends instead of widened of the migration period, 2. silver earrings with added conical drops, a type of appendix as it was very common during the second century of the Empire, 3. the simple buckle, the belt plate of which with the punched circles as well as the ring which is oval and the middle of the front a little bent, reveal at least nothing outright un-Roman.

Even Lindenschmit sen, believing that the entire class was Germanic-barbaric in origin, was prepared to remark about a notched buckle published by him (*Altertümer* I.8, 7) that it came from the oldest christian graveyard near the Liebfrauenkirche at Worms.

Somlyo in the Vienna Art Historical Museum. Notch-shaped works in bronze of similar date are not yet found<sup>79</sup>; yet figurative additions permit at least one of these monuments to be attributed to Roman art of the fourth century A.D. <sup>(23)</sup> This is a large buckle (lacking the ring and tongue) in the collection of Augusto Castellani in Rome, which was undoubtedly found in Italy and published in the year 1891 by J. Undset in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*; yet it did not find the consideration it deserved, for which reason we publish it here again with its original plate (fig. 70).

We find here an entirely unusual mixture of techniques. Executed in niello are the framing *guilloche* and the series of leaves placed diagonally (division of pattern on pl. XX.4 and XXI.3 in the sense of the infinite rapport) on the borderline in between the triangular and quadrangular parts. The two griffin heads, which are the end of the tip of the mounting, are punched. The actual planes with notch-shape together with their

79) Dr. Bernhard Salin, a pupil of Montelius, and assistant in the Museum in Stockholm writes in an article, which is primarily devoted to ridge shaped works (nagra di Tidiga former af germansk a fornsaker i England, in *Månadsblad of the Academy in Stockholm*, 1894 also as a separate publication in 1897) among other things about a ridge-shaped bronze, which was found together with a coin of Arcadius. On this occasion there should once and for all be mentioned the significance which the author of this work means to attribute to the coin finds. One cannot naturally deny a certain degree of importance to these finds; on the other hand it is important not to overestimate them because there were cases where the coins did not constitute an undoubted terminus ante quem non. Scholars who are inclined to give coins the principal importance for a date necessarily have to arrive at later dates than those who derive their criteria for dating predominantly from the perception of the history of development. The chronological determination of the northern finds from the time of the birth of Christ until Charlemagne, as it was done by Montelius and his school, constitutes perhaps the most difficult piece of work which archaeology has so far generally achieved. All available notes on the finds were virtually researched, all usable parallels were brought together and the most secondary circumstances were not denied attention. The result of this painstaking work Montelius himself finally presented in the «*Svenska förnminnes foreningens tidskrift*» as a series of articles about the Nordiska jernaldernes kronologi», especially in vol. 9, p. 215 ff. the contribution on «den romerska äldre jernalbernes senare del» and the one in vol. 10, p. 55 ff. about «folkvandringens tidens förra del». Any future research will have to take into account these results the statistical value of which alone is already immeasurable. Yet the individual dates at which Montelius and his students arrived should not achieve general importance; for the North as well as the South they appear too early. In view of the established general development in the North and in the South there cannot be accepted a chronology which led to a placement of the moor find from Kragehul with its artistic ally flattened zoomorphic *guilloches* in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Nonetheless, Scandinavian scholarship is nowadays almost the only one in the area that concerns us with a strictly methodological, historical character and with a few exceptions it is free from all ethnographic fantasies and preferences claiming serious and thorough discussion for their results.

frame in the shape of pearls constitute mere fillings between the three fields decorated figuratively, which are engraved and were formerly gilded figures on a silver ground. The obviously pagan subject matter in the circular field, with two female figures and a dog between them, surprise as much during the fifth century as the light and firm tracing of their outlines. However, the two portraitheds – the young man and the woman with a hairnet and diadem – reveal that rigidity of view, which can be observed in the stone portraits from the post-Constantinian time on. According to this, we will have to place the work at a time between Constantine and Theodosius. Even Unsted attributed it to the latest ancient art and thus emphatically denied any assumption of a barbaric origin.

How notch-shaped bronzes ended is illustrated for us first in the find 1. XXII.1, 7. Both belt tongues show such a similarity in their decoration that one would like to take them as products of one and the same manufacturer, which also considering the otherwise proven relation between the places of the finds of the two pieces (Salona and Sissek) is very probable; yet no. 1 is, from the viewpoint of development, a little advanced. This innovation is achieved by flattening and broadening the raised areas, while the hollowed places maintain the linear floor and become smaller and split: here again appears a necessary return to the tactile element besides the principal maintenance of the optical perception.

This result can be seen even more clearly in the mounting of 1. XXII.2 which was found in Wels together with a silver buckle with inlaid garnets on the tongue – undoubtedly Roman work – and a rusty massive metal belt. Closest to the notch appear the two patterns on the border: on the smaller side are zig-zag and the long side half-rosettes in accordance with the infinite rapport. The inner field is filled with geometric linear patterns in three stripes, among which their reciprocal gamma-shaped motives correspond exactly to the coloristic *Kunstwollen*, which is hostile to motives, for which reason we find them very frequently on late Roman textiles found in Egypt. The technical execution, however, shows very flat curved ribbons, which are separated by fine linear engravings on the background. Thanks to the regular widths of the parts of the ornament in high reliefs, here the new *Kunstabsicht* appears even clearer than in the belt-tongue mentioned earlier. However, the exact moment when the notch was dissolved cannot at this point be determined exactly.

In the second part of this work we will find the successors of the notch. the earliest of which belong to the sixth century A.D. Generally the notch in the shape as it is shown in fig. 64 shows rather a middle Roman than a late Roman *Kunstwollen*. One will, therefore, probably be correct if one dates that change in the time between 450 and 550 A.D.

The uniformity of the decoration, as it can be found in the notched

bronzes in most finds (from England to Italy, from France to the Balkans) permits us to conclude that there was a mass production by government institutions such as manufactories, which had to fill the needs of soldiers and government employees in the provinces. Yet, whether these manufactories were located in the East or the West of the Empire, cannot yet be determined with certainty. The fact that, to date, the established places of finds belong almost entirely to East Roman imperial soil might point to a West Roman origin for them. On the other hand, we must consider that the land, which was previously the Roman Near East, has not yet been examined in consideration of such crafts. Even in Italy there were until very recently monuments of the so called migration period almost entirely neglected; yet, since they have attracted attention, large and numerous discoveries followed and this previously classical land turns out to be one of the richest places of finds for «barbaric» art in Europe. Who could ascertain that the same experience could also not take place in the East, as soon as the appropriate external conditions for removal of the old debris of one and a half thousand years is given?

In fact, there is proof that the particular craftsmanship of the notch was not unknown to the Romans of the East. Examples for this are not metal objects, but wood carvings. Fig. 71 illustrates a carved wooden slat from a Coptic church in Old-Cairo. The technique is typical for the notch. The ornament shows an intermediate tendril with a palmette in the center, and half a palmette on each side, brought in connection with one another through coiled tendrils with contrasting curves; on the ends there is half a palmette of the central type as a concluding element constituting thus an infinite rapport. The transformation of the Greek tendrils to an arabesque shape appears here to be immediately evident; also the well based relationship with the «trumpet-pattern» of perforated works of the early Empire is undeniable.

However, at this point it is not possible to give a definite date; it is certain only that the work could not have originated before the fifth or after the ninth century A.D. It belongs with all probability to a later period than the notched bronzes described above. This should not surprise us, because the coloristic style, the most vivid representatives of which was the notch, lasted longer in the East Roman Empire than in the West, and it still dominates the Saracen East. Modern Near Eastern art is indeed the immediate heir to the later Roman Empire, having in common basic traits of colorism on the plane (and not in space) and lack of concern for «motives» and particularly for the lively, articulated moving figures.

The East Roman notch also experienced broadening of the motive with relief and a limitation of the ground in between to the point of the ideal ridge of a line. Well dated proof of this process is found in the stucco

ornaments of the Mosque Ibn Tulun in Cairo, the basic importance of which for the perception of the development of Saracen art I have stated most emphatically on earlier occasions (*Altorientalische Teppiche*, p. 1552 ff., *Stilfragen*, p. 303 ff. and above) yet, without being noticed by the historians of « Byzantine » art. Figure 72 shows a part of the stucco decoration of a doorway in the mosque.

Having observed the development of the palmette-tendrill ornamentation since the perforated works of the earlier Empire, one will easily recognize here, again, the half palmette with volutes at the stem and with an unarticulated fan. The deepened outlines of the individual half-palmettes constitute at the same time the outlines of the neighboring half-palmettes, and where there remained superfluous space, which could no longer be used for half-palmettes, a large, stylized flower motive of conventional shape was inserted in order to avoid any flat ground beyond the width of a line.

The diligent observer will on first sight be inclined to take the linear grooves for the pattern and the entire work as an engraving. In reality, however, it is the same work as the bronze mounting from Wels, pl. XXI.2, replacing only the geometric pattern of equal widths with one in the shape of a plant of alternating width. Thus, it belongs essentially to the same *Kunstabsicht* which produced the mounting from Wels as well as the stuccos from Ibn Tulun, which leaves the beholder in doubt where he should look for pattern and where for ground, and thus forces him to do away with the pattern and to view the whole only in its rhythmic, colorful change between light and dark.

The technique of the notch <sup>(24)</sup> as decoration of wooden surfaces in the north and south of Europe is maintained in popular art until the present day. During the time of unlimited dominance of materialistic art theory this was used as a welcome argument in order to declare the notch in bronze as a simple translation from wood to metal, which one saw naturally as support for the formerly favored attribution of the notch bronzes to an essentially barbaric origin.

Thus Lindenschmit discovered (in vol. I of the *Alttrrthümer*, part 8, pl. 7) very early in the notch ornamentation of the buckle from Worms the « character of old domestic wooden sculpture ». And in that respect J. von Falke agreed in his history of the German crafts explaining that « Germanic » metal technique derived generally from the ancient Germanic wooden technique. Thus he expressed the conviction of most, if not of all his colleagues and entirely all laymen in the German countries <sup>80</sup>.

80) Among the non-German scholars, especially O. Montelius and B. Salin argued for the prototype of the notch for the « early Germanic » metal ornamentation.

While outer appearance favored this assumption, it seemed beyond doubt, after one seemed to have found the monumental proof for this in the so-called «shoes of the deceased» (fig. 73), from a coffin (trunk for the dead) of the Alemanic tombs at the Lupfen near Oberflacht (Lindenschmit, *Altertümer*, II.7, 5).

The so-called «shoes of the deceased», which actually represent curved beaks of birds<sup>81</sup> and which must have constituted the crowning element of a pole-like object, show indeed in technique and ornamentation (in the cut of circles constituting rosettes in an infinite rapport such as in pl. XX.4 and XX.3 and also the gamma figures of pl. XX.2) the closest relationship with the notched bronzes. But already the disposition of these patterns familiar to us from Roman works, is remarkably untectonic and disproportional; it recalls silver works with notch decoration from northern Germanic finds, which will in the detailed discussion of the second part of this work be shown to be imitations of the middle European notched bronze. Important, however, is that the tombs where such notch carvings were found belong to at least the Carolingian time, which was also conceded by Lindenschmit. These objects cannot have constituted the preliminary step of the Roman notched bronzes. Rather than recognizing their purpose, that is to be transitional elements from the Roman notch to the modern notch, one tried to see them as proof of an ancient Germanic popular art going back to prehistoric times. Today it might be timely to admit that also the popular arts were at some point «fashionable arts» which (yet for deeper reasons and not at all by chance) remained in use among the conservative country people. How deeply rooted especially late Roman art was among the Germanic and Slavic nations (not to speak of the Eastern ones) becomes nowadays more and more understandable.

That in spite of the obvious existence of metal works before the notched «shoes of the deceased», the latter works were recognized as earlier can just be explained with the prevailing prejudice that the wooden notch as «Germanic» art could not have changed its character since prehistoric times, and would have looked in the eighth and ninth century A.D. the same as it did during the Roman Empire. One overlooks here especially that one used to mix two things, which were by no means connected indissolubly: style and technique. That a style, as represented on the buckle in fig. 64, could not have been invented by the barbarians, and should have been recognized long ago through unprejudiced investigation. Yet it is different with technique: there would be no reason to deny the Germans the knowledge of the use of the notch. There are also finds, which can prove this

81) Fig. 73 thus has to be reversed; considering the shading the converted position of the original illustration had to be adopted here without alteration.

knowledge, at least among the Northern Germans – finds which can claim a more respectable age than the « shoes of the deceased » from Oberflacht. The wet soil of the swamps in Denmark preserved a number of examples of real ancient Germanic wood carvings, which can with certainty be dated in pre-Justinian times.

From the find of Vimose comes a wooden ladle with a long handle (fig. 74) <sup>82</sup> which is decorated with carved triangles; <sup>(25)</sup> yet those do not constitute a coherent, coloristic pattern on the plane consisting of ridges and hollows, but they are rather executed in an isolated manner and serve in a naive, tectonic way as garnish for the borders; on the attached disc they form in a similar way a rosette. Essentially similar are the notched ornaments on some objects from Vallstenarum on the island of Gotland <sup>83</sup>. And even these examples of the notch in wood, which is particularly lacking as a characteristic element of the Roman notch in bronze – the absolute coloristic cover of the plane — did by no means originate before Constantine and are, therefore, at least a century later than the oldest known Roman notched works.

The same reasons which deny the northern notch in wood to be the prototype to an even higher degree deny that the notch familiar in the southeast, especially in Greece, is the prototype for the domestic notch. The popular art in the east of the Mediterranean is today more or less closely connected with Saracen art (gold, embroidery, damask, niello work, intarsia work, etc.) This alone shows already the coloristic principal trait of all modern southern European *Kunstwollen* and explains also the preference for the notch. Also, there is missing any trace of proof that the Greeks already before the Roman Empire in their popular art would have used the notch, and that they generally in the last four to five centuries B.C. had a popular art which was essentially different from the fashionable art. Rather, we will also nowadays have to recognize the eastern Mediterranean notches as successors of the late Roman notch, the survival of which until the present day in the south is in view of the entire character of Byzantine and eastern art much less likely than the existence of the notch in northern popular art.

Yet these are all just external elements which speak against the origin of the notch in bronze via the imitation of the notch in wood. The final point here is to understand that the hypothesis of a mechanical derivation

82) Engelhardt *Vimosefund*, pl. 16.1; the find is now in the Museum at Copenhagen.

83) Bernhard Salin, *Se nordiska Guldbrakteaterna*, in the *Antiquarisk tidskrift för Sverige* XIV.2, p. 60, fig. 75. The find is in the State Historical Museum in Stockholm.



does not explain anything. The answer to the question « Why was just this particular artistic technique imitated »? will always be important. Why this and why wasn't another one favored? If formulated in that form, it matters very little whether the chosen technique was derived externally or invented independently.

From the viewpoint of the external shape belongs in close relationship to the notched bronzes another group of buckles, the decoration of which is mainly done with punching (also tremolo engraving). Fig. 75 shows the same quadrangular form of mountings and the same heads of beasts as holders of the axis of the hinge known from notched bronzes. The tongue of the ring of the buckle is even patterned with notched triangles in a reciprocal double row which makes a technical connection with the notch (in bronze) obvious. But the mounting is carved only along the borders done here in a similar manner with triangular notches; its interior planes show a borderline pattern formed by a row of points and semicircles and some straight lines, while the center remains completely empty. This means a tectonic separation between the inner field and the border, and thus a strife backwards away from unlimited colorism to a more tactile perception. However, the artistic medium which was used here — the punch — is not a coloristic one. The same late Roman manner is revealed here, which seemingly reinstitutes the background of the relief, but keeps the relief itself as flat as possible. Also the flat animal heads suggest an origin during an advanced level of the Roman stylistic development. Curved animal heads as in fig. 76 are very rare in this group (just in Aquileia, but not at the Rhine) and they never reach the tactile modelling of the head in fig. 64. Even though the mounting of fig. 76 shows also an inner field with punched ornament, it is done in a concentrated manner, in which these individual ornaments are lined up. It is also a revealing example for the fact that one constantly looked on the work of art primarily for an optical stimulation and secondly for a tactile order. The same sketchiness can be compared in the few contemporary bronzes which are as fig. 77 (made from gilded bronze) decorated with engraved human figures. The increasing massiveness of the tongue is also characteristic for the buckles of this group; here and there it was doubled, and sometimes (fig. 76) « rings » were attached, which ended in flat stylized animal heads. But I was never able to find a real animal head as the end of the tongue among this group; it always remained a pure profile without any organic supplementary meaning. While we must date the origin and the development of this entire group during clearly late Roman times, there are individual examples which one would rather not imagine to have been made before the year 500 A.D. Thus, pl. XXI.2 shows in the four corners of the mounting (besides the sudden appearance of the heads of the nails for the attachment,

hence not for the classical purpose, that is to connect these planes of the mountings) raised convex stones with massive casings. This is a half-tactile manner of decoration which we will get to know more in the second part of this work from the sixth century on from monuments which came down to us through barbarians but which are in fact of middle European origin. A prototype of this is the decoration of the plane with punched concentric circles, which are modelled through protuberances and recessions: such as on the buckle pl. XXI.1, on a mounting fig. 78, further, the connection between punched ornaments and the ribbed casings of concentric circles which makes this look like a buckle in tactile perception such as mounting fig. 79.

Another group of buckles which constitutes no less a late Roman continuation of the middle Roman type of the notched buckles was found mainly in France and the Rhine countries; among the Austrian-Hungarian collections the Museum in Budapest alone owns an example (pl. XXII.5) although its exact find spot is unknown. The mounting here is covered with a silver plate and decorated with two lions in niello and in the heraldic style; not only the choice of this species of animal, but also the turning of the head backwards (opposite to the direction of their bodily movement) is proof for their origin in middle European art. Especially rich and abundant is the decoration of the tongue with the quadrangular shield plate, two marine monsters (which have tails ending in animal heads) as wings and a very broad tip, which here, without doubt (which cannot be seen sufficiently clearly in the reproduction of pl. XXII.5) are shaped to an animal head. The tongue is also otherwise covered with hatched and engraved *guilloche* in a manner earlier unheard of. The notch is entirely missing in this example; its relationship with the notched buckles is based only on the general shape and the heads of the beasts of the hinge. However, all the other buckles belonging to this group show without exception a connection between notch and niello<sup>84</sup>. The buckle tongue always ends as a real animal head.

This group gains particular interest by its particular connection between notch and niello as well as its preference for animal motives for their own sake (not for certain formalistic functions as in the notched bronzes) which was transferred to the jewelry worn by the barbaric nations between the time of Justinian and Charlemagne. Lindenschmit and others declared such works outright works «of the Franks», which means

84) Such a find from Sedan in the Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye is published by Sven Soderberg in the *Antiquarisk tidskrift* XI Om djurormanentiken under Folkvandringstiden, p. 74, fig. 30; another one from Misery in the Picardie published by Rigollot, *Recherches historiques sur les peuples qui envahirent les Gaules au Vme siècle* pl. X, XI; two from the Rhine in Lindenschmit *Alterthümer* II.6, 6 and IV.2, 1.

that they originated from the hands of barbarians; but an inner necessity for this explanation does certainly not exist, because these works can be well understood in the general development of late Roman art known to us from other undoubtedly non-barbaric sites. External reason, however, speaks very clearly against the possibility of such barbaric metal art in the fifth century until the time of Justinian. The former nations of mercenary soldiers of the Roman emperors were sufficiently busy in view of their relatively small number to establish their rule in the conquered countries; the painstaking punching and soldering they left, presumably willingly, as work for their knowledgeable West Roman subjects. External conditions for an activity in metal arts were at that time present only at the long established places of the Northern Germans who had remained there. In the second part of this work the question whether or not they took advantage of this will be addressed.

In addition to the notched bronze an art medium may be mentioned which used neither metal as raw material nor used the notch as decorative motives, but which is rather based in the same manner as the notch on a broad engraving on the plane; and, at the same time, seems to have belonged to the most general and typical form of artistic practice, especially during the fourth century A.D. I mean the engraved and cut glasses with hollow grinding. They were found in Cologne<sup>85</sup> in great numbers and already the numerous figurative scenes with christian subject matter among the decorative motifs prove their post-Constantinian origin. The optical sketchy manner of style, appropriate for the time, which partly<sup>86</sup> recalls modern impressionistic drawings in crayon, makes these cut figures appear for our modern taste especially crude, since they are in a contradictory manner connected with the contours; and, these finds from the Rhine would have been, without a doubt, declared to be<sup>87</sup> barbaric works if they had not been found in great numbers in Rome. The Danube countries, however, have been proven to be particularly sterile for relevant finds; the two fragments of a large, flat, glass bowl executed in the mentioned manner, il-

85) Lately has been dealt with by the director of Suermondt Museum in Aachen, Dr. Anton Kisa, the excellent expert on ancient glass from the Rhine, in his publication «*Über die Antiken Gläser der Frau Maria von Rath*», p. 70 ff., pl. IXX-XXII.

86) Compare Kisa, above, pl. IXX and pl. XX.

87) Also among the City Roman finds there are numerous examples with christian content; the Museum of the Vatican and the Campo Santo Teutonico in Rome have a great number of them. The same applies the Capitoline collections in the Conservatori Palace where also the fragments of a bowl with figures of Diocletian and his co-regents (based on the inscription Seberus); published in the *Bullettino Comunale*, 1882, p. 180 ff., pl. XX; the latter are of particular importance for their date (usually related to the Vicennalia of the year 303 A.D.).

lustrated here on pl. XXIII.1, 2, are Roman finds and come from Villa Nunziatella.

The iconographic interpretation of the remnant of figurative representation is already difficult due to insufficient preservation; it requires a more detailed discussion than can be given in the framework of this book, and it will be given by the appropriate person at the appropriate place. Both fragments fit together in that the seated figure, which we see on no. 1 as a torso on a throne with the right hand resting on it, is continued on no. 2 with his legs<sup>88</sup>. A number of figures of the same size seem to have surrounded the center of the bowl in a radiant manner; and in between there were obviously little scenes with figurative content. In no. 1 we see in this function on the left side the figure of a nude winged eros who is almost entirely preserved except for the (presumably turned) head; he is turning to the left, kneeling on the right knee, and placing his folded hands on the left knee, whereby the seemingly awkward *en face* placement of the right shoulder recalls a widely known particular element of style during the beginning of late Roman art. In no. 2 one observes to the right a syrinx crossed by a baton (according to Benndorf, a curved flute) and beside that the foot and lower seam of drapery of a human figure moving to the left<sup>89</sup>.

While the iconographic explanation of the figures has to remain for the time being an open question, there can be no doubt about the artistic intention on which this work is based. In hollow grinding and in intaglio,

88) The disproportion and dimensions between hand and feet are so large that in the beginning I first thought both fragments would belong to two different figures until Benndorf removed my doubts. Because all other characteristics speak for the fact that they belong together we have to explain the mentioned disproportion with the (in this case yet extremely degenerated) late Roman negligence of proportions. According to this (besides the head) the middle part of the figure is broken off (part of the upper side, the lower part of the torso, and presumably the raised left hand, the downfalling sleeve still visible on no. 2. The entirely draped figure is seated with its upper torso *en face*, but its legs are turned to the right on a throne with high square back-support, which is decorated with a row of winged erotes, standing under arcades *en face* with spread arms and wings and holding grape-like flowers in their hands, and it is resting on two lions. For this compare the silver bowl of the Sassanide King in the collection of Count Stroganoff in Rome, published by Riegl, *Ein Orientalischer Teppich des Dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1896. Benndorf, however, has the opinion that there were possibly three rows of arcades and three lions, which beside an invisible fourth one, were meant to surround the throne perspectivevely.

89) Benndorf suspects the enthroned figure to be Aphrodite and is supported in this among other things through the Eros standing next to it. The decoration of the throne with several rows of works of sculpture recalls the throne of the Olympian Zeus.

which is a negative relief, the *Kunstwollen* in antiquity found in opposition to the modern one of its most characteristic expression; we find it, therefore, during all phases of antiquity from the ancient Near Eastern until the late Roman ones. The development is naturally completely parallel to the one of the positive relief with which we became acquainted in its general traits in the chapter on sculpture. The figures of our fragments from the bowl show exactly the same flat relief as the Florentine silver shield of Aspar from the year 484 A.D., except that they are done in hollow grinding. Yet what characterizes the concluding phase of ancient art is very definitely the use of glass as raw material. Early antiquity used dull clay for this; then followed stones, which in the beginning had opaque coloring becoming gradually more transparent until, finally, from the time of Constantine on, the desired watery and indistinct modelling within harsh contours found its most adequate expression through glass.

### *Garnets Encased in Gold*

The nature of this technique and the underlying *Kunstabsicht* may be illustrated with the buckle from Apahida in the Museum at Cluj in Transylvania (pl. I.7; figs. 80-82), which was found together with the fibula dated back in the first half of the fifth century A.D. (p. XVI, 1-3).

The mounting has the shape of a high case with level upper and under sides and an oval periphery, the angular recession of which clearly shows at the ring the bean motif known to us from complementary motives. The belt was once inserted between the lower side and a golden plate attached under that lower side; the three golden rivets which penetrated all three layers (mounting, belt, and lower plate) and held them together are still preserved. The oval cover, which for the normal bird's-eye view constitutes the actual limitation of space of the mounting, shows a painstaking articulation through lightly projecting horizontally fluted pillared columns of garnet, over which the golden upper plate is bent. Yet the latter also has a tactile articulation at the outer rim, achieved through a roll of small concave garnets which, without casings, appear inlaid directly into the golden seam of the upper plate. The entire impression of the mounting is thus, on first sight, a massive one without articulation and repelling to the outside; however, closer observation permits us to recognize a smallish articulation of the outlines that is rather optical than tactile in effect.

Of special interest is, however, the other decorative treatment of the upper plate. Its even surface shows a change between golden lines and garnet-red planes; the four passage like fields of the center are now an empty hole, originally also closed by a colored stone (probably not red for reasons

to be discussed later). From a technical point of view a construction from four walls soldered together, between which there had to be created hollow spaces (cells)<sup>90</sup>, is clearly demonstrated here. These were filled with a white, plaster-like mass, topped by a hatched gold foil and above them appears a garnet plate, which is fitted carefully into the upper rim of the hollow space; the underlying gold foil had obviously the purpose of increasing the intensity of the garnet color.

Finally, the treatment of the relation between pattern and ground is most important. Which role is played by the gold and which role by the red garnet? On academic grounds this question can indeed be decided: the gold constitutes not only the bordering edge, but is generally the only coherent element, while the garnet fields present themselves isolated from one another; on the other hand, one has to admit that here everything was done in order to let the relation appear to be the opposite – the gold as pattern and the red as ground. Yet if one looks at all the garnet fields of the mounting together, then the bean motive appears; hence, the outer shape of the outline of the mounting is adhered to, which, again, is expressed in the configuration of the framing gold border in other parts. But this red bean motive is not just interrupted through the central four-way passage, but is also interrupted in all directions through the five ridges.

90) Hence, one called this technique gold jewelry with cells (*orfeverie cloisoné*). But it is an error if one connects with it the opinion that the cells would always be made with a linear slim, upper edge (ridge) of thin walls (as here in the interior of the mounting), while those not only through ribbon-like and notched stripes (following the turn of the elongated wall plate at the upper end) can be limited (as at the edge of the mounting and the field of the tongue of fig. 89), but could also even be imbedded in extended ground-like planes (as for example, in the case of the oval middle shield of a bird fibula from Petrossa, fig. 92 or in the case of the crown of Swintila, fig. 101); the condition was just that the cells were not to touch one another at any point and that they should follow one another in regular close distances. Indeed, in individual cases one can strictly speaking, not talk anymore about cells, as for example in the prisma of the earring plate I.2, all sides of which are bent together out of thin gold plate and soldered together so that the «ridges» connect with one another but not through a basis; the interior of the prisma, however, is constituted through a singular, coherent, hollow space which one may indeed call a cell. However, the particular characteristic which we connect with the term cell, is lost, that is the individual closeness within a few walls. In this example is demonstrated again the insufficiency of technical terminology for certain artistic phenomena, which can just find their proper expression through terminology based on the underlying *Kunstwollen*. And also in this work the hitherto used term «cell-gold jewelry» is substituted with «gold-work inlaid with garnets», because on one side this expresses the principle of the *Kunstabsicht* that is the connection of the flickering metal color of the gold and the dark red coloring of the garnets, and on the other it names for the technical aspect just the essential part – the coordinating embedding of the garnets in the gold – but not the multiple changing execution in detail.

Whoever looks at the latter with onesided attention must necessarily be inclined to recognize it as a golden pattern on a red ground. He would also be able to support this assumption with sound proofs; first, the wide golden border above which the polished garnets rise, is following the shape of the latter, cut at the inside (that is toward the garnet fields) in a circular manner, so that here the gold constitutes a pattern in relation to the red; furthermore, the five ridges which separate the six garnet plates from one another are all conducted in a much curved zig-zag instead of a straight line. Thus, it appears that the gold, even though it was meant to be the ground, i.e. the motionless element of the whole, is given with cunning intention as much motion as possible, which according to the relief perception of all ancient art, belongs exclusively to the pattern. Hence, there is no doubt that the *Kunstabsicht* was also here, as in the perforation, and in the notch directed toward the superficial hiding of the relationship between ground and pattern. Hand in hand with this went the creation of a pattern out of such motives, which were not made according to nature, but created from the surface of the ground as complementary motive, which had a purely artistic purpose for their existence; and, by reducing the ground to lines (or at least ridges, which were not wider than a line) between the pattern motives it necessarily had to presume the external configuration of the bordering pattern motives, thus resulting, again, in complementary shapes. The same law we can easily recognize in the bean-shaped configuration of the entire red pattern in the interior of the mounting. It is also repeated in the encasing border (ground); we can recognize immediately the same in the shield of the tongue. Here the tendency towards a complementary shape between ground and pattern seems to increase to the degree of perfection, as it otherwise was just reached in reciprocal motives <sup>91</sup>.

A few words will suffice to determine the artistically essential element

91) Now one can also understand the phenomenon which appears so very often in late Roman art, that the interior pattern echoes the external silhouette of the whole. So, for example, on rectangular textiles (in painting or mosaics represented more often, also in originals preserved several times from Egyptian tombs) it appears in place of the bordering (in a classical perception at the same time framing and connecting) line, that the four corners are here emphasized with rectangular geometric figures what according to a paper of Walter Lowrie during the Second Congress for Christian Archaeology in Rome is also repeated on the late Roman marble enclosures; when the holes for windows follow the silhouette of the window lunettes, as already in the large middle Roman halls (Baths of Diocleation and the Basilica of Maxentius). with this also the often criticized placement of columns in the circular arch (Hagia Sophia, Dome in Aachen) is genetically connected; and also when in silver jewelry of the seventh and eighth centuries (Castle Torsino) the same tendency is repeated about which more will be said in the second volume.

in the ring and the tongue of the buckle from Apahida. In the ring, which is made from a massive golden circular baton without any decoration on the surface, can already be observed, what was observed on the mounting, that is, the strife for massive encompassing outlines, which also unmistakably follow a configuration of the bean motive. On the tongue, the shield with its triple beanlike motive follows the mounting in its entire shape and its decoration of the border and the interior; here, the bean motive of the interior is not divided by golden ridges, but is expressed as an uninterrupted red oval shape with angular recession towards the point. The curved middle wall of the shield of the tongue (fig. 82) shows a pattern made from garnet plates between curved golden ridges. The point of the tongue receives first of all a curved ridge, for which reason the garnets, which are inlaid, are here not ground down to level plates, but cut as curved planes. Obviously this is a masterpiece of ancient glyptic. The configuration of the garnet plate, again, is not limited through straight, but through curved, that is moving, golden ridges, so that here (as in the above mentioned walls of the tongue shield) the superficial beholder is inclined to perceive as pattern curved golden lines, rather than the red plates in between. On the other hand, the shape of the tongue with its massive outline corresponds entirely to the stylization of the mounting and the ring and presents itself particularly through the tapering at the end, which is flatly cut (in place of a pointed end during the earlier Empire) as an example of the late Roman style.

The principal coloristic intention, which combines the garnet inlaid in gold with the perforation and the notch in metal, is now obvious. The same rhythmic change between light and dark (as pattern and ground, tangible material and empty atmosphere), which perforation and notch had produced with a tactile projection is reduced, however, to a minimum. The garnets inlaid in gold evoke precisely this on the plane alone, that is with color alone without any natural light and shadow effects of the relief. Indeed, previous antiquity during all the phases of development composed colors for a unifying effect on the plane. In order to understand the nature of the garnets inlaid in the gold (as generally of the all late Roman painting) among the changes, which took place in the artistic perception of the colorism, one needs to define with a few precise words the difference of late Roman colorism in comparison with the previous polychromy.

The polychromy of classical antiquity and the colorism of late antiquity cannot be confused just because the first is intended as absolute clarification of the pattern, while the latter is meant to hide the pattern as much as possible by emphasizing the ground. In classical antiquity, pattern and ground constituted two large masses, each of which consisted of closely connected and coherent parts, which however appear as a large and general



contrast; typical of this is the classical shape of the tendrils, which appear as a complex element bound with its parts firmly together, even though richly articulated, and made from individual parts. It contrasts with the ground, no less coherent because there was toward the border of the decorative field a ground untouched by the pattern. Even though the tendency of the development from the hellenistic period on was increasingly directed toward the limitation and repression of the ground through the pattern (the motionless through motion) until the middle Empire there exists a certain connection between the parts of the pattern; the garnet inlaid in gold shows the (red garnet) pattern split in a lot of parts of small configurations, which have no connection with one another, because they are constantly separated from one another through the ground (the gold) which is inserted in between (isolation on the plane).

From this point of view, we can now really see the true meaning of denaturalization of the pattern motives in late antiquity. A motive which evokes in us the memory of a particular individual natural shape (a flower, an animal) becomes as such immediately overwhelming and reduces other parts of the surrounding plane to the meaning of «ground». Temporarily, ignorance of their meaning as «pattern» can be imagined for motives, which are not «naturalistic», but either mathematical – conceptual (so-called geometric patterns) and thus lacking either the individual liveliness or the familiarity with partial configuration of the ground (basically not naturalistic because they are not individual). Thus is explained why classical painting derives its motives first from the mass of individual appearances known to us from nature and why it connected them with one another on the plane, while the colorism of late antiquity chose the unnaturalistic motives and placed them on the plane without connection. A more precise differentiation between colorism and polychromy became necessary when the latter began to use unnaturalistic motives without connection; this happened not so much in classical art (where it can mostly be found only as a rudimentary exception) as in Near Eastern art.

In ancient Egyptian art, particularly that of the Old Kingdom, we often see so-called geometric ornaments. To be excluded immediately for our consideration are those examples which constitute a coherent pattern: a zig-zag pattern, for example, stands on the same level with the classical *rinceau* in this respect; yet, the huge difference is that the zig-zag as planimetric pattern does not wish to leave the motionless plane, while the Greek *rinceau* surfaces as motive alone from the ground. Yet one finds among the ancient Egyptian monuments also those, where the plane is entirely divided into geometric compartments.

These are either unevenly colored so that through the different coloring alone they are separated from one another without an emphasis or a

particular color as the ground color rather than treating all equally as pattern; or they are one color and thus separated through linear outlines, for example on the enamel (and also pseudo-enamel) gold objects are in external effects close to the gold ridges of the garnet inlaid in gold. In the first case, the ground appears completely eliminated; one sees only colorful flat patterns with no ground in between. But in the second case also the linear ridges in between do not at all constitute a ground between the colorful planes of the pattern rather than the outline of the latter, such as the outlines of the figures before the classical art of the Greeks. In view of ancient Egyptian gold objects nobody would consider raising the question of what is ground and what is pattern: there exists only one constantly reoccurring pattern of the plane which is as simple as possible, and the gold lines constitute its outlines; nobody asks for the ground because the entire object already maintains the impression of a motionless plane. Thus we find in the polychromy of oldest antiquity (the ancient Egyptian) the same tendency toward elimination of the clear contrast between ground and pattern, which we have found in late antiquity to be one of the most characteristic elements. Yet the deeper *Kunstabsicht*, which in either case led to the use of the same medium, and thus achieved externally similar but basically diametrically opposed effects, is in either case not just identical but rather the opposite. Again, we see here the already observed phenomenon repeated, that the beginning and the end of ancient art relate to one another as two reciprocally touching extremes.

According to the perception of relief already known to us and dominating all antiquity, the ground always constituted the motionless element, out of which the pattern surfaced as moving element. Ancient Egyptian art (as explained earlier) was principally directed to presenting the pattern (as generally any work of art as material phenomenon) as much as possible as resting, motionless material. This aim could only be reached to such a degree as was possible to overcome the natural contrast between pattern and ground and to make the pattern appear ground-like, that is level and motionless. Where naturalistic motives could not be avoided (humans, animals, plants) this aim could never be reached fully and this constituted the main inner conflict, which had to lead to the collapse of the ancient Egyptian system, and thus towards progress and new development; the Egyptians were content to project the natural motive with as much motionless outlines on the plane as possible, and to limit eagerly the motionless ground located next to it, a ground which had to permit the pattern nonetheless as a relief with motion, and to interrupt with inscriptions, and to never permit a remarkable rise of balance between pattern and ground as it was strived for by the Greeks. A complete elimination of the ground as the fatal contrast always demanding comparison was just

possible in one case: in the retreat to the geometric (planimetric) pattern; here the pattern constitutes itself as an absolute motionless plane and contains nonetheless that division and plurality, which constitutes now besides the unity a condition of that artistic impression. Thus is explained the Egyptian's preference for the geometric ornament; one-sided adherence to it was, however, among a nation of culture from the level of the ancient Egyptians no longer possible; yet they have always maintained the planimetric stylizations in their figurative art as the principal law.

In ancient Egyptian polychromy thus everything was meant to be motionless, that is ground; in the geometric ornament of the ancient Egyptians the ground was thus as much as possible suppressed in order to permit the pattern to appear without contrast (with or without outlines) on the plane. The colorism of the end of antiquity, however, wants to let everything appear as space-filling, as being in motion, and as pattern; it also suppresses, whenever possible, the ground in order to avoid its contrast to the pattern, yet, not to characterize everything as level with the ground, but rather as pattern and in motion. Hence the pattern on the garnet inlaid in gold may be unnaturalistic but is by no means planimetric. The outlines of the individual garnet compartments are not of the same shape and motionless with straight lines (for example, simply quadrangular as this was the rule in the Egyptian polychromy), but changing and in motion and with curved lines, particularly where they are separated by linear (pl. I.9) ridges to a lesser degree where they are embedded in broad planes (such as pl. I.2) in order to form entirely irregular configurations. With it goes the inclination towards centralization of configurations with different shapes in contrast to the ancient Egyptian simple addition of elements of the same shape; the ridges, however, which are placed between the individual compartments of the pattern are not the outlines of the latter, but the representatives of the ground which they change into complementary motives in motion. While among the ancient Egyptians even the pattern was meant to be motionless, among the late Romans even the ground was meant to show motion: but this was just possible, because it became (ideal) space. As far as the choice of color goes it was dictated generally to the ancient Egyptians by the physical law of complementary addition, while here the desired unifying effect is reached through the immediate appreciation of the visual perception and avoidance of all reflection. Among the garnets inlaid in gold, however, the colors were meant to be the expression for the contrast between dark and light: a *Kunstabsicht*, which compared to the ancient Egyptian was based on intellectual reflection.

The golden ground lines on the inlaid garnets were thus meant to constitute, according to the late Roman *Kunstwollen*, the same relation

to the red garnet fields as the shadowy lines of the folds in marble sculpture did to the light planes of the drapery, such as the furrows on the mounting from Wels (pl. XXII.2) relate to the ribbonlike reliefs in between, and such as the engraved lines in stuccos from Ibn Tulun (fig. 72) relate to the shapes of the palmettes which they separate <sup>92</sup>.

Hence, the garnet ornaments are not flat ornaments such as the ancient Near Eastern ones – absolutely tactile planes, which are separated on one side individually through outlines in respect to their height and width and are on the other side kept closely connected with the plane, – but optical and level surfaces for three-dimensional motives, which fill space and which in addition are also separated in respect to depth, and are hence modelled through bordering light (stylistically of equal value to the bordering shadow) and at the same time separated from the ground level. The investigation of the history of the ancient relief has taught us that the development described began without any doubt from the fourth century A.D. on, but was fully achieved just from the fifth century A.D. on. Therefore, we have to conclude that the garnets inlaid in gold are to be recognized as a specifically late Roman artistic exercise which only in very individual attempts but by no means goes generally back beyond the time of Constantine to the middle Roman period.

Yet there also are such monuments inlaid in gold, for which stones of other colors (or glass paste) were used: pl. I.9 might serve as an example for this. The difference with respect to the very colorful ancient Near Eastern decorative planes here is probably even more convincing than in the case of monochrome ones. The blue almond motive and the green four-leaf clover motive, the inner stylistic connection of which with the complementary motive is obvious, appear here as pattern on the coloristically unified ground of pure inlaid garnets. Here is obviously the same late Roman law of mass composition, which we saw already in the Byzantine centralized building and the basilica, as well as in the cross on perforated ground on the fibula from Apahida. It expresses perhaps more than any other law of late Roman art that the principal striving of antiquity has been overcome

92) When the role between light and dark in the garnets inlaid in gold appears to be reversed so that the light constitutes the spacial ground and the dark the pattern, then this is explained through the fact that the lines had to receive the stronger color as elements, which was weaker from the viewpoint of expansion in order to make it of equal value to the pattern; gold as pattern, however, would have defeated any other color and was for that reason used in colorism just as ground. In marble works, however, black develops sufficient strength in order to maintain its desired position in contrast to the white. The same phenomenon is offered in others by the floor mosaics with black figures on white ground (e.g., in the Baths of Caracalla) the modelling (shadows) had to be achieved with white lines.

and that a pioneering progress toward something new is reached, which will dominate the future. Surfacing from the uniform coloristic ground of the inlaid garnet are the blue and green motives in a tactically provoking manner: here is expressed an overcoming of the plane and a return to the tactile element, which consequently resulted in a return to sculpture, that is to relief generally. And this step was indeed reached in the late Roman period, as it will be demonstrated in numerous monuments of inlaid garnet <sup>93</sup>.

Garnets inlaid in gold constitute thus the most mature phase of the coloristic *Kunstwollen* <sup>(26)</sup> as much as it is expressed in metal works. The practice of this technique falls thus predominantly into a time which among the Mediterranean nations was already completely penetrated by christian ideas. Among the most fundamental ideas of this kind belonged in the belief in the immortality of the soul, and in closest connection with this, the belief in the unpretentiousness of the (transfigured) body in the other world. Immediate consequence of this was that one gave up the pagan custom to add to the tomb of the deceased donations such as jewelry, armor, objects, and money for the other world. Thus ceased to exist the most abundant source from which the art historians so far derived their knowledge of the ancient crafts. From about the fifth century on our notions about the art industry of the Mediterranean nations, who became christians, had to depend almost exclusively on the content of the debris of the destroyed Roman towns. By chance, individual finds of this type were repeatedly made; but, they can in regard to their effect on the modern historian by far not match those compact massive finds which came to surface from the tombs of the barbarians as contemporary monuments.

93) The convex garnets at the edge of mountings and the tongue from the buckle from Apahida constitute (even though still as much as possible fit for coloristic effects) a success in this tendency; we also will have to assume that the empty four-leaf clover motive on this mounting was filled with a stone which was not red or with a glass paste, in which case the tendency towards a creation of a centralized dominating motive seems also to be very clearly demonstrated through the position of the four-leaf clover in the center of the mounting.

The most progressive monument in the development of this type of art is the oval jewelry from Salona (pl. I.6) which shows in the center a tactical-projecting carnelian with an intaglio decoration and on the edge alternating blue and green glass pastes on top of a ground of garnet fields (according to Professor Berwerth's convincing statement). The glass pastes have now for the greater part disappeared and there remain just a few gold foils in the holes; also here can be seen the often observed phenomenon that the inlaid garnets are preserved in the cells while the inlaid glass has long fallen out. The cells are here produced with bronze niello which indeed on the surface (where they were visible as «ridges») were gilded.

94) Among others derive the jewelry pieces pl. I.1, 6, 8 from the debris of Salona.

The barbarians, particularly those of Germanic descent, were first as military support for the Roman emperor accepted into the Empire and were able to gain gradually not only rule over the borderline provinces, but also over many countries of the Mediterranean located in the West. Those barbarians maintained on the one side much longer than the native nations of the Mediterranean their pagan beliefs<sup>95</sup>; but, on the other side they also faithfully kept, after they became christians, their inherited pagan funerary customs. We have, consequently, from the time between Constantine and Charlemagne most abundant remains from the Franks, the Alamans, the Burgundians, the Langobards, the Visigoth, the Northern Germans, but almost nothing from the descendants of the Romans of the West and the East. One concluded from this too quickly that after the decline of the Empire at least the West Romans had more or less no art industry, which meant that with the reign at the same time the artistic cultural production was taken over by the barbaric conquerors.

To transfer the same conclusion to the East Romans (those in Byzantium) was made impossible through the fact that Germanic barbarians never gained political reign in the Eastern Empire. Indeed, there were scholars such as Labarte, who attributed the most eminent of the finds from barbarian tombs from the fifth and the eighth centuries (and particularly the garnets inlaid in gold) to Byzantine origin. This hypothesis found no support at a time when art and science of past periods were seen under modern nationalistic viewpoints; it had to stand behind other hypotheses, which flattered contemporary sympathies and aspirations of those nations which were principally involved with that kind of research (particularly the French, Russians, Hungarians), and we have hence to look for the reason of this misunderstanding mainly in the predominant ignorance of the Byzantine (East Roman) crafts of the pre-Carolingian time.

One did not dare to deny that the Byzantines of that period would not have had an art industry; but, lacking were monuments which were beyond doubt and to which, whatever one's particular opinion, could be attributed a certain degree of relationship with classical art. Since one seemed to miss this classical impression among the finds of the tombs of the barbarians, or just found it in very small remnants, one wanted to deny them outrightly any Byzantine origin. Hence, garnets inlaid in gold are nowadays in the research done in Germany almost exclusively treated

95) The notched bronzes of the fourth and fifth centuries which presumably belong without exception to the armor of the Roman soldiers, may at least for the predominant part come from Germanic mercenary soldiers. A significant tomb find for this type from the fourth century (even though without notched bronzed) was found a few years ago in the Dreikönigsstrasse in Cologne (now in Mainz, published in Lindenschmit *Alterthümer*, IV, p. 57).

as a « barbaric » or « barbaric-Near-Eastern » technique and at the same time as the most typical and characteristic representatives of « art from the migration period », carried by the barbarians, which particularly through the migrations of the Goths, would have been carried from Southern Russia to the most remote part of Western Europe. German research has shown a remarkable reluctance and avoided any independent judgement obviously deterred through the perception that purely scholarly interest in this point was generally suppressed through strong national interest.

The train of thought which led to the attribution of the garnets inlaid in gold to barbaric origin, is the following: we do not possess any secure monuments of late Roman art industry; as far as they are preserved at all, their works have to carry the seal of classical art, even if they come down to us as declined barbaric classical art; garnets inlaid in gold lack this classical seal entirely; hence, they cannot be considered as products of the late Roman art industry. The decisive premise on which this conclusion is consequently based – the assumption of certain remnants of classical character in late Roman art – was proven to be wrong through all our previous excursions in this work: the Late Roman *Kunstwollen* was *fernsichtig* coloristic and hence separated through an abyss from the classical *Kunstwollen*, which holds the middle ground between a *nahsichtig*-tactile and a *normalsichtig*-optical (painterly) intention. The *fernsichtig*-coloristic intention was not alone transmitted by the barbarians to the Mediterranean nations rather than – as was particularly demonstrated in development of the relief – gradually entering its most significant phase during the course of the inner evolution of ancient art long before Constantine, even before Marcus Aurelius. Indeed, since the garnets inlaid in gold constitute nothing more than the most mature form of expression of the coloristic *Kunstwollen* in metal, we have to look necessarily for its origin within the late Roman art among the Mediterranean nations.

Since the Mediterranean origin of the garnets inlaid in gold can hence no longer be doubted, one can on the other side not overlook that for a century the barbarians who had settled, made use of works in this technique and that this could also not have been without influence on the historical development of this type of art. Hence, it is not only permissible to ask whether gradually the West Romans or the East Romans oriented the artistic character partly to the taste (*the Kunstwollen*) of their barbaric customers, but it is also permissible to ask consequently, whether the Germanic nations having put away the swords in order to come to more peaceful occupations, may not have themselves felt the inclination to cover their need for jewelry and the like with their own painstaking punching and soldering and hammering and to follow, at least generally, (that is in their coloristic, entire perception) the agreeable prototypes of Me-

diterranean productions. In order to answer questions of this type while avoiding previous superficial perception about the relationships of the human to the visual art, in as scholarly manner as possible, one has first to clarify the question: what was the nature of the *Kunstwollen* (taste) of the Germanic barbarians? Only when one knows the direction of the barbaric *Kunstwollen*, one is able to decide in every individual case, if a work was made based on a pure late Roman *Kunstabsicht* or on another influenced by barbarians. Since almost all the numerous monuments of garnets inlaid in gold, which fill our museum nowadays, were found in tombs of barbarians, we must postpone the history of development of this late Roman type of art until the second volume of this work. In the present volume we have only to deal with the undoubtedly Mediterranean element, that is the beginning and prototypes of the garnets inlaid in gold <sup>(27)</sup>.

Yet even here an interpolation has to be made. The hypothesis, which is nowadays dominating and according to which garnets inlaid in gold did not have their origin in the art of the previously classical nations of the Mediterranean, generally uses certain Persian monuments, partly those found in Siberia as products of the Near Eastern or barbaric origin of this technique. Among those the Chosroes plate in the Louvre falls in a time when without doubt the work brought in connection with the Persian king has no priority over the European monuments of the same type. As far as the second proof for the Persian origin goes – that mounting from Wolfsheim in the Museum in Wiesbaden dated in the time of the first Sassanid king (around 220 A.D.) – its ability to serve as proof depends to date on the correctness of the paleographic date; the style which is used here for the inlaid garnets is, by the way, not an exclusively coloristic one. Of much greater importance are the gold objects found in Siberia with inlaid stones, which are presently in the Hermitage in Leningrad. Because they already belong, as far as their place of find goes, to the center of the barbaric question, their discussion must be left to the second volume of this work. At this place there may be just so much indicated that the majority of those Siberian finds still do not belong yet to the purely coloristic but rather still to the half-tactile *Kunstwollen*, which is expressed especially through the clear distribution of the stones on gold ground and occasionally through slightly engraved edge-casings of the stones. The *Kunstwollen* expressed through the Siberian stones inlaid in gold is thus generally parallel with those perforated works in the earlier Empire; also a certain type of enamel which will be discussed below was produced obviously with the same *Kunstabsicht*.

Indeed, there can be no doubt that the Siberian finds constitute the forerunners of the late Roman inlaid garnets; yet forerunners which fit



the general development of the visual arts in antiquity without difficulty. A more detailed discussion and reason for the indicated relationship between the Mediterranean art and those finds, however, has to be reserved for reasons already mentioned for the second part.

As the oldest dated monument of garnets inlaid in gold of Mediterranean origin there can without doubt be accepted the casing of the medallion of emperor Maximilian from Szilágy-Somlyó (in the Vienna Art Historical Museum), if it were certain that casing and medallion were contemporary. This is, however, questionable<sup>96</sup>. The existence of garnets inlaid in gold is without doubt demonstrated for the year 481 A.D. through the marsh-find from the tomb of Childerich at Doornick (the remnants are now in the Louvre), whose date is not only secured through numerous coins, but also through the seal – ring of the deceased, which was found with it. Besides the crowns with the names of Visigothic kings of the seventh century the Doornick find constitutes the firm basis for our knowledge of the development of this type of art between the fifth and seventh centuries, during which two centuries its peak and dominance generally falls.


Having now reached the discussion of the historical prototypes of the inlaid garnets we have to ask two things: in what manner were the garnets or rather the semi- and precious stones generally brought into connection with the metal before one inlaid them in the metal and what kind of raw material did one have, before one chose garnets (for the stone), when one meant to create colorful decorations on a given metal surface?

The first question can be answered immediately in that classical art did not want to see the stone just for its optical – colorful value, but predominantly for its bodily shape value and that, therefore, it gave the stone on one side its crystalline shape broken into clearly divided partial planes (usually through facets) and on the other side its own clear limitation (encasing) in metal. Classical art in the limited sense principally and generally did ignore the unavoidable optic colorful impression of the stone;

96) To date one has declared the casings of the undoubtedly Roman medallions from Szilágy-Somlyó as works of the barbarians (so Kenner and Hampel). Yet whoever does not desire to see in Roman casings of the fourth century classical appearance, will also not find anything necessarily barbaric in the medallions from Szilágy-Somlyó with its notched patterns inlaid with garnets. Only the casings of the medallion of Gratianus falls out of context, since its unusual plastic decoration brings it into closest relationship with the one of the bracteates from Oland (*Antiquarisk tidskrift*, XIV.2, p. 16) which Montelius places early in the middle of the fifth century: a date which one would be hesitant to declare earlier, especially since the dates of Montelius are, for reasons already mentioned, always given too early rather than too late. But if one of these medallions (Gratianus died 376 A.D.) was almost a hundred years after its origin encasing, then we must naturally also have great doubts concerning the contemporary origin of the other casing.

the hellenistic period alone was open to the colorful stimuli of the material (for the first time since the ancient Near Eastern). The early Empire increased this indulgence to sheer preference, but presented still the shaped stone as the pattern in motion, and at the same time the encasing as an isolated and connecting ground; it did not inlay the stone in metal but put it on top of the metal.

Only from the beginning of the second century on in monumental sculpture, (parallel with the introduction of types of stone which were not just white) there began artistic appreciation of the colorful effect of the stone as such, and its presentation on larger planes before the eye of the beholder. A marvelous example of this development, such as reached in the first half of the third century, is constituted by the onyx from Osztropataka in the Vienna Art Historical Museum (pl. II). The tactile art form is on this stone limited to the general outline, but with conscious intention, it strived for the marvelous color effect on the plane, particularly under the addition of nuances through the reflection of the light. Yet an encasing seems to be still necessary which is made with a perforated *rinceau* and constitutes thus the transition from the impenetrable material empty space. Also the perforation of the appendixes corresponds to the *Kunstwollen* of the early and middle Empire.

 The sardonyx from Szilágy-Somlyó (pl. III. from the second find made there, now in the Museum in Budapest) which when compared in size with the other onyx constitutes a progress towards coloristic inclination substitutes the perforated encasing through an inlaid stone, whereby the garnets and the sparsely distributed plates of green glass are composed according to the laws of mass composition (pattern on a ground in motion). Also the declining edge of the sardonyx shows inlaid garnets within golden cells. At the head and the foot of the fibula, the arch of which, so to say, represents the sardonyx are also attached large incased stones as testimony of this already earlier emphasized return to the tactile element; they differ from the encased stones of the earlier Empire, which were divided through polygonal facets into clear partial planes, most strongly through their polished, that is massive — unarticulated — shape.

An even more advanced step of mass composition represents a fibula from Nagy Mihály in the Vienna Art Historical Museum (pl. IV); it recalls, especially through the added three chains, the similarly decorated large disc-fibulae, which appear particularly on coin images again and again on the shoulders of the emperor before the middle of the fourth century until Justinian.

Therefore, the connection of the precious stone with the metal had during the Roman Empire the following three phases of development:

1. Placement of the stone on top of the metal; the stone is arti-

culated through facets as clear partial planes and has thus tactile quality, but creates also with its natural color optical stimuli.

2. Stones (garnets) inlaid into the metal; stone and metal constitute together a level ground, but one which is equal to the pattern, that is certainly a ground in motion.

3. The actual late Roman phase: on the ground in motion made from metal and garnets, are now attached for the first time stones without encasing and gradually also with encasing whereby these stones no longer have facets but are shaped in an unclear curve.

The inlaid garnets belong to the second and third phase; indeed, it is generally doubtful if the second phase can be different in time, and it seems to be more probable that immediately following the balance and leveling of the pattern on the ground, the new pattern of mass composition was superimposed. On the other side, the old encased stones of the earlier Empire never disappeared during the third century, but came, whenever possible, close to the inlaid garnets which could be concluded from the three examples on pl. II to IV with sufficient clarity.

To be discussed remains that other preliminary step of inlaid garnet which puts emphasis not on the stone but on the inlay: which kind of raw material did one use in pre-Constantinian time, if one wanted to color metal plates? It is obvious that here, according to the semi-classical *Kunstabsicht* of the early Empire, it could not be yet purely coloristic, but that it had at least a partial polychrome color effect. Still, the separation of the individual parts of the pattern was not the admitted goal, even though the same was already appearing in the background. One wanted still to maintain the connection of the parts of the pattern among one another and to contrast them in their entity more or less clearly with the entity of the ground; however, one already demanded joyful, colorful appreciation for the eye. There was to be found color, which would create as close a connection with the metal as it would separate itself as foreign element from the stone. Among all the colors which one used during the course of antiquity for this purpose, enamel was proven to be the most useful and effective and most lasting one, which could by melting be brought in close connection with the metal and, at the same time, with its glass-like consistency was able to create tones of colors of a particular glow and depth. Hence, we are obliged to insert here a brief excursion of the history of development for enamel in antiquity, particularly since the beginning of the Roman Empire <sup>97</sup>.

97) Besides enamel the niello was used for the satisfaction of the same *Kunstabsicht* in the Roman Empire in an extensive manner and it therefore would have been justified to devote to that, within the limitations of this volume, a detailed inves-

The enamel belongs to those techniques among the crafts which, during the last decade have found an exceptional appreciation among friends of art, as well as historians. Hence, there are available a relatively large number of attempts to discuss the enamel from the viewpoint of development. As far as those attempts are concerned with the technological side of the question, they are not without success; especially the works by Cohausen (Wiesbaden) and O. Tischler (Königsberg) are to be praised<sup>98</sup>. For the general art historical knowledge, however, they are of little use, as especially recently demonstrated with the book by Kondakoff about the collection Swenigorodskoi.

Responsible indeed are here neither the enamel as such nor the scholars with their honest attempt, but again the materialistic prejudice, which meant to identify the visual arts generally with technique. Thus, enamel was not accepted as what it is — a medium to achieve the purpose of the *Kunstwollen* — but as a purpose for itself, which would have all the seeds (thought to be mechanistic) for its development in itself.

Under the spell of this prejudice one had either to remain with the descriptive perception of the visual appearance (according to the recipe of Kirchhoff) or to come to a completely false notion about the aspects of development.

The much discussed question whether certain gold objects of the ancient Egyptians imbedded with color materials were real enamel is for the history of art, as such, of subordinate importance; important is that the ancient Egyptian *Kunstwollen* desired a connection between gold and a color (particularly blue) in order to produce a geometric ornament. This color was brought in connection with the gold through inlaying plates of stone cut particularly for this purpose (hence individual ones) rather than through imbedding a pulverized (that is made from an infinite number of small

tigation. But I restrained from it because it would have increased the volume of this book. Without that the results would have added something more essential above what was already demonstrated from other techniques of the time for the decoration of metals. The general development of niello started, regarding motives from a flowing shape of the tendril which remained on the plane and produced gradually isolated complementary shapes (overcutting circles, Vitruvian scroll, reciprocal doubleness) and it finally restrained itself in the progressed late Roman period (particularly on jewelry of the so-called style of the migration period) almost exclusively to reciprocal triangular seams.

98) The first of the scholars mentioned, who is now dead, published his research in the *Annalen für Nassauische Altertumskunde*, where especially the years 1873 and 1893 should be consulted. Much more numerous are the articles by O. Tischler about enamel; the most important ones are in the *Schriften der physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft in Königsberg* 1886 and in the *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthr., Ethnol. und Urgesch.* 1884, 1889, 1890.

plates) substance. However, also to the ancient Egyptians the inlaid stones were not completely unfamiliar and there is no reason why the Egyptian *Kunstwollen* which always meant to keep the uninterrupted geometric patterns motionless and on the same level with the ground (in opposition to the patternlike moving ground of the late Romans) would not as well have been satisfied by inlaid stones as by enamel. Hence, the borderline between the two techniques seems not to have been firm. When we will one day have a real history of ancient Egyptian art (for which at this point there exists no hope) then one will perhaps be able to demonstrate that inlaid stones and enamel followed one another among the Egyptians in the same sequence as this was later the case in European art.

The use of the enamel among the Greeks was done in an eminently tactile (plastic) spirit: either parallel with the polychromy of the figures of the border, when for example, golden pigeons were covered with enamel (again later in a « classical art », that is during the Renaissance, repeated) or used on very small planes, for example leaflets, which were very strictly encased by a filigree frame so that there could be no doubt concerning the objective meaning of the « pattern » (for example, leaf). The color served in such case a clearer emergence and emphasis of the pattern rather than the (late Roman) camouflaging.

For the Greek enamel particularly the South Russian tombs have provided excellent examples; whoever has a chance to admire them will, from a modern viewpoint, not understand the unflattering opinion expressed by Kondakoff. Only the one who prefers Byzantine figures of saints principally over the beautifully animated, moving leaf tendrils will place the Byzantine enamel works artistically over the classical Greek ones.

There are no examples known from the time around the birth of Christ of the Greek enamel with filigree encasing, to which the term pit enamel fits as much and as little as the term cell enamel. The international fashion of the Roman Empire seems to have already at that time longer appreciated the harmonic manner for the connection between gold and color.

Another question is whether this ancient Greek technique was as so many others preserved in certain local popular crafts, which did not follow the change in international fashions. If this were so, then we could see in the Greek filigree enamel the forerunner of the so-called *cloisonné*, which in more recent times was found in the Balkan countries, the countries located north of here in Hungary, Transylvania and even more east.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>99</sup>) For the sake of completion there may at least be mentioned here as annotations the bronze works found in Denmark from the so-called older bronze period, which have dark inlays of resin between the relief-like projecting spirals. They

At the beginning of those enamel works, which already reveal an optical coloristic *Kunstwollen*, stands a group of monuments which are connected on one side stylistically with the so-called La-Tène-culture of the last pre-Christian century and which on the other reach far into the Roman Empire.

The color effects appear on these works in contrast to the bronze either achieved with red corals or with red enamel. The use of corals seems to be limited just to older works; gradually it was, according to research so far done, entirely suppressed by the red enamel.

In Austria-Hungary there have been found works of this kind (the distribution pattern of which covers an area from England to Russia and Italy), particularly in the Danube countries. Besides the large museums in Vienna (from Stradonitz) and Prague particularly the National Museum in Budapest possesses a great number of pertinent works. As a Greek representative is shown here on pl. V. 4 however, reduced to two-thirds of its natural size, a chain with several elements. An hypothesis about its purpose we do not discuss, because this would be completely irrelevant for our artistic analysis. The original is in the City Museum at Biel (Switzerland), but was brought there by the founder of this museum, Mr. Schwab, from the eastern Danube countries, presumably Hungary.

Just the first sight teaches us sufficiently that we have here the same kind of perforated work as those mountings and fibulae of the earlier Empire with their configurations made from the linear tendrils, their «trumpet patterns» and contrasting curves, and finally their complementary shapes of empty spaces in between. But where there are broader planes, they appear to be filled with red enamel; the enamel here has exactly the same function as the perforation, that is optical-colorful. The piston-like ends, which crown the chain, are decorated with a forked tendril and the engraved ground between it is filled with red enamel; but, since the bronze constitutes the border, one is right away tempted to interpret the red enamel as pattern and the bronze as motionless ground: there can be no doubt about the intent to give the ground with the coloring a pattern-like motion and such an intent we call indeed coloristic. The same is true concerning the treatment of the quadrangular plate, next in line, as well as the heart-shaped shields on the pendent chain; in the latter the inner

follow stylistically most decisively the tactile principle: the golden shining bronze spiral patterns were meant to contrast more effectively the dark resin ground, while they would have found a bothering competition from the otherwise no less shining bronze ground, if they were not covered by the resin. Excluded, however, through the consistency of the pattern was the (coloristic) possibility to take the resin ground for a pattern and generally any doubt that the spirals could constitute pattern. The «style» of this work comes thus closely to the classical ones. About the modern inlays on bronze compare S. Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde* I, 293.

field echoes with configuration the outer silhouette in the same manner as the bean-shaped motives did on the mounting, especially the tongue of the buckle from Apahida.

A second example of this type of enamel is the hook (pl. V.2) where the red enamel <sup>100</sup> of the central disc served as ground for the *rinseau* left in bronze creating complementary elements for the Vitruvian scroll; the crudeness of the execution prevents both the positive and the negative motive to appear in full regularity. The piece is important, since there exists a *terminus post quem non* for the date; it was found in Transylvania as part of the armor for a Roman soldier (now in the Museum in Cluj and can hence with certainty be dated between Trajan and Aurelian (107 and 270 A.D.).

It is this type of enamel which regarding its style comes closest to the Siberian inlaid stones mentioned above. Especially convincing parallels constitute, among others, the objects found in England made in the « La-Tène » manner, for example, the ones illustrated in Kemble, *Horae ferales* (pls. XIX, XX). Stylistically the closest relation differing just in unimportant details of shape and coloring are the bronzes found in West Russia, which have decoration in enamel (published by Kondakoff on p. 33 and pl. XXIV of his work on the enamel collection Swenigorodskoi and proclaimed as examples of an « early completely independent, Oriental-Slavic culture). That the same objects were also found in East Prussia (compare Tischler, *Ostpreussische Gräberfelder*, III.5 no. 1) would perhaps not suffice in order to destroy Kondakoff's hypothesis, if this would not have already been done through the obviously close relationship of those Russian finds with the red enamels just discussed. Since Kondakoff does not mention the latter in his book, we may assume that he did not know them.

After this enamel type, which in individual cases of its production may go indeed back to pre-Christian times, we now come to the discussion of those monuments, which since a long time ago one used to call « Roman enamel ». Still nowadays some scholars would like to give this term a very limited value and are inclined to trace the origin of all enamels belonging to this type back to the barbaric or Near Eastern nations, for which reason also the term « barbaric enamel » can still be found among individual authors. In my opinion, there can be little doubt that these works have Greek

100) A technical investigation of the enamel showed that first there was melted and poured into the holes a yellowish-green enamel, to this were added red, cold glass splinters; particularly the triangular splinter in the lower oval has clear and sharp outlines. There is no trace of their being ground. Below the central disc where traces can be seen of rings attached to the two sides (little rings) there is located a second (in the illustration naturally not visible) disc perforated by four circular openings.

roots and were nourished continuously from the international fashion of the Roman Mediterranean Empire so that their discussion (and the one of the Siberian stones inlaid in gold) need not be postponed until the second part.

The number of the pertinent finds is very large; but, it may be divided equally into two large groups, among which to the first belong almost exclusively vessels and to the second predominantly jewelry and particularly fibulae. The main difference between the two groups, which is already functional, furthermore goes together with a particular kind of stylistic differences. Common for both is that they were made from bronze (never from precious metal) and that their enamel is imbedded in engraved pits<sup>101</sup>. Grinding is constantly used in objects of the second group; in the first group it may at least be determined as predominating, yet, one finds especially red fields without grinding, which demands a special explanation.

The first group, consisting predominantly of vessels, has among its Austrian finds a magnificent representative in the flask from Pinguente, the ancient Piquentum in Istria (CIL. V. p. 44) in the Art Historical Museum in Vienna, pl. VI<sup>102</sup>. A few coins from the time of Hadrian, which

101) Hence the theoretician of the enamel technique, O. Tischler calls the Roman enamel the real « Grubenschmelz » while he meant to give the La-Tène enamel the term « Furchenschmelz ». But from a technical point of view there is no essential difference between these two types, because the furrows are nothing else but small hollows. Tischler has obviously not meant to give with this difference an expression of aesthetic feeling, which was to him not clear, but predominantly the existence of a deeper lying stylistic difference. Indeed, hidden behind the furrows of the stocky baton work (pl. V.4) is still half the tactile-classical element, behind the hollows which already preconditioned the existence of an extensive level plane, is hidden the coloristic late Roman style. As far as the chemical consistency goes, the Roman red enamel (brick enamel with opaque shapes on blue ground) has, according to Tischler, its forerunners in the Caucasian belt-hooks from Koban, the origin of which goes back to the second half of the first millenium before Christ. The red La-Tène enamel, however, (blood enamel with tendril-like red crystals and light transparent glass) is found, according to Tischler's research, in the mass of ancient Egyptian glass plates from Meroe still from pre-christian times, while during the Roman Empire in Egypt brick enamel was also used. Stylistically, there is no relation between the La-Tène enamel and the Egyptian one from Meroe; rather could the Caucasian piece of enamel instead be brought in connection with the Roman ones. Even though the results of Tischler's research are certainly valuable, they can at the present level not serve as sufficient foundation for a comprehensive historical outlook.

102) Published by E.v. Sacken in the *Jahrbuch der Kais. Kunstsammlungen* I. 41 ff. as an heliograve; the color in its current condition shows a broader section, but with incorrections in pattern and color. The flask was further published by Linas in the *Gaz. Archéol.* 1884 in an attempt to restore the original coloring, that is also by removing the green patina. We present in this etching by Kaiser the entire flask



were found beside some undoubtedly Roman objects, suggest that the time of origin for the flask was probably after the middle Roman Empire. The shape is not unusual and is explained sufficiently through its purpose for transportation (a canteen); E.v. Sacken found a number of other examples from antiquity. The handle is flattened in the middle but toward the edge compromised to the shape of a baton, through which the inner tension of all Roman metal work from the time before Constantine is revealed. Strangely, the entire surface of the body of the flask is flat without any relief (with the exception of a ring going around the periphery and a circular piece of base); indeed, from the very beginning it was intended to leave the artistic effect not just to the inarticulated massive shape, but to achieve it also through a kind of decoration, which covers the entire surface of the vessel and even the ribbon-like more central broadening of the « handle ». The ornaments of this decoration are cut out of the bronze surface and placed on a colorful enamel ground; however, many ornaments and particularly the ivory leaves, receive in addition and below a pattern with colorful inlaid enamels of complementary configuration. The colors are cadmium, cobalt-blue, and orange – yellow. The faded cadmium never reaches the height of the borders; hence, one would like to assume that from the very beginning one did not intend to grind these red fields, and, therefore, did not fill them with the enamel filling to the rim. The surface of the reddish fields, however, does by no means look like melted enamel left without grinding; but, it appears to have furrowed cracks all over, as if intentionally scarred. This could lead to the assumption that the red enamel ground was originally just meant to be the basis for another one to be poured on top, whereby the unevenness of the red enamel would have made it easier for the upper enamel to penetrate and to adhere. Yet there is no trace of such an upper enamel and in this case there is no other explanation left than that another level was intended but never finished. Yet it is possible that the red enamel would not have tolerated grinding easily. Strangely, the same phenomenon is repeated in another monument of this group of enamel, the ladle from Pyrmont, where it was already observed by Lindenschmit who was not able to explain it<sup>103</sup>.

The cobalt-blue enamel of our flask is ground all over except the particular parts of the central circle: in that case it appears to be due to an insufficient melting of the enamel, which again would suggest incompleteness, because it would be difficult to accept the notion that the parts next to the area with grind should have been intentionally left in this man-

in its present condition and add a few sections in drawing (fig. 84) through which the individual patterns are made clear.

103) *Alterthümer*, III, II.3 where the ladle is published in colors.

ner, even though the possibility should not have been entirely excluded, that some planes were ground and others not in order to create thus an artistic, contrasting effect. Unfortunately, the present preservation of the flask, especially with the completely faded cadmium-red is not sufficient in order to come to a definite judgement. Finally, the orange-yellow fields are all ground.

Let us investigate the decoration itself. As already indicated, it extends to both slightly curved disc-like sides, which both show an entirely identical ornamentation so that the discussion and illustration of one of the two suffices (pl. VI and fig. 84a); furthermore, it extends to the broad tambour which combines the two sides (fig. 84b), and the broadened center of the handle (fig. 84c) and finally, the cover of the little mouth (fig. 84d). We are primarily interested in the decorative style, in general, which can be observed here: the motives play just a secondary role.

Today the wide sides with their dense, colorful decoration have definitely an effect in the coloristic sense. The reason for this is, however, not the patina of its age; that such an effect was intended from the very beginning, is demonstrated by looking at the reproduction of the flask in the *Gazette archéologique* (1884) where the original colors are reconstructed; indeed, the gold tone of the bronze recalls here directly late Roman inlaid stones. But if one looks closely after first superficial impressions, into the system of the ornamentation as presented then one is surprised to find an entirely, strictly tectonic composition.

The center is definitely emphasized by four crossing ivy leaves, the centrifugal effect of which is even emphasized with a radiant of leaves which is surrounding them and shining. Around this central motive are three enclosing concentric zones, where an intermediate *rinceau* of ivy leaves runs between two continuous *rinceau* tendrils, carrying three foiled leaves. The outermost border constitutes a reciprocal zig-zag line. Also as far as the tambour, the handle, and finally the lid are concerned there cannot be overlooked (in spite of the geometric simplicity of motives) a tectonic principal idea. A close view leaves no uncertainty about the motives themselves and their separation from the ground. And in spite of this tectonic organization and the tactile clarity, there exists definitely also a coloristic entire impression!

The reason for this is first the unusually dense sequence of the individual patterns. Zone follows zone, motive follows motive and with it a change of colors, not alone for the pattern but also for the ground. Individual zones are, furthermore, nowhere separated through projecting profiles from one another, but just bordered by small, flat, linearlike ribbons which attract the eye not sufficiently, so that the existing separation cannot be immediately recognized. The most important aspect,

however, is that at least between two zones of the broad sides one of the principal laws of the classical (tactile) style seems to be overcome: the law of the absolute uniformity of the ground as the first and supreme condition of its function as a motionless base for the pattern in motion.

The classical style, which at any price strives for the clarity of the individual artistic motive hence, requests from polychromy an unconditionally unified colored ground. The pattern may show colorful change; but the ground has to remain within its frame one color so that one may not mistake it for the pattern. And now one may look on pl. VI (and better on fig. 84a) at the two zones with the three foiled leaves, particularly the broader inner one. The *rinseau* on the whole is set on a red ground (destroyed in the original almost entirely and just from closest proximity visible: in fig. 84a it is lightly hatched) but the leaf itself is surrounded by blue ground, which ends without a metal frame on the red ground. But this is not all, the ground between the stem and the leaf is on top of this filled with an orange-red enamel (in fig. 84a it is left white; in the original it is quite visible). Hence, instead of the ground with one color appears one with three! There is absolutely no doubt about the purpose; the enamel maker intended ornamentation of the three main colors: red, blue, and yellow in a mixture which corresponds exactly to their values of intensity. In spite of the tectonic organization and the clarity of the motives in their individual meaning, the *Kunstabsicht* was a coloristic one, and how successful the master was demonstrates a first look at his work. Again, here the *Kunstwollen* of late antiquity shows its purity: massive, inarticulated, clear, and whole are the outlines while the planes maintain an unclear, painstaking, glimmering effect.

Finally, as far as the choice of motives for the decoration of the concentric sides of the flask from Pingente is concerned, they recall in main points perforated works; this is on one side done with the tendril as the basic theme for the entire decoration, on the other with the unclassical particularity to the end that the movement of the tendril no longer originates in a full and real circle. They are partly drawn as an exaggerated semicircle, partly as a less curved shape (oval). It is finally visible in the shape of the leaf motives which are as much as possible curved, but also articulated as little as possible. In this the motives touch closely the complementary ones, among which the heart-leaf with its particular button-like widening of the outline inwardly at the root of the stem can be found especially frequent in perforated bronzes. An example for this is a belt mounting, fig. 85, from Transylvania, where the heart-shaped perforated motive below the button at the base is clearly made from the joining of two tendrils. The curved almond motive (fig. 51h) as an ivy leaf with a bent point is repeated in the perforated mountings from Transylvania,

pl. XIV.7; in the same shape it is repeated not in the flask from Pinguente, but in a whole number of other monuments belonging to this enamel group (on the ladle from Pyrmont, the plate from Karlsruhe and the plate found in the river Thames now in the British Museum, and others).

Already v. Sacken and Kondakoff were able to identify a larger number of vessels belonging to this type of enamel; the list could be considerably enlarged just alone with the collections at the Rhine (museums in Speyer and Oldenburg, collection Lückger in Cologne and others). A specialized work on the subject from the art historical point of view alone promises very fruitful results. At this place we must be satisfied with the emphasis of just a few examples.

Here especially a bronze plate with enamel found in the Thames and now in the British Museum (fig. 86) deserves a few words. It offers so many particularities that a monograph would be justified, even though much has already been discussed. However, from the purely art historical point of view the most important has not been mentioned yet by anybody. To be short, I would like to limit myself just to the most important aspects, and otherwise, I would just like to emphasize in advance that especially the technique, and furthermore, the characteristic circular discs above the roots of the stems of the two almond motives in the upper corners leave no doubt about the close relationship between this work and the flask of Pinguente <sup>104</sup>.

One may look just at the oblong central field. The ceremonious shape of the aedicular, the little columns at the side of the architrave decorated with griffins and the pediments on top, finally the base with lionesses at the two sides of the vase facing one another – this all makes us expect in the center a figurative or, at least, an emblematic representation. Instead, one finds just pure ornaments of an amazing type! We ask what is pattern and what is ground? We believe that we would recognize shields, volutes, but the changing coloring of the enamel confuses us again in this point. We see light and dark colored volutes intertwined, but no ground in between them. But let us first concentrate on the very center; i.e., the four-leafed rosette in the center. Here obviously the entire pattern comes together. But what is the meaning of those oval leaves which turned in from the corners? Here lies the key to the understanding of the entire pattern because they are nothing else but a quarter of the central rosette. If we would restore each of these leaves in the corner to a full rosette and would imagine

104) Also the complementary calotte motives, which are reduced here as result of the quick, sketch-like treatment to crescents with flattened ends, as well as the shields and finally the general cuts on the ground with isolated motives of the pattern characterize the style as one of the end of antiquity.

everywhere the continuation as it is shown in the centralized rosette (fig. 87) then we recognize that on all four sides of the oblong parts the same pattern is repeated. In other words: we have here a pattern with an infinite rapport. We saw such a pattern among others in the fibula from Innsbruck (fig. 53); compared with the one of the enamel in London it appears to be sober and painstaking. The earliest examples, however, as they were presented to us in Pompei (*Stilfragen* 313, fig. 171) are still rooted deeply in the classical style; they show a lot of free ground and on it small patterns. In our plate the infinite rapport appears at the same time when the tendency comes up to slur the borders between ground and pattern. This we learned to recognize as the main tendency through the art of the late Roman Empire. The closest analogies in our plate are such areas of style which established the infinite rapport and the denaturalization of the pattern as their principles. Hence, the reciprocal intertwined volutes recall Arabian intarsia in Cairo and Spanish embroidery of the sixteenth century. The entire pattern of the oblong part, however, became the prototype for the treatment of inner fields of certain Oriental carpets such as the three so-called Polish carpets in the Schönbrunn carpet depot (*Jahrbuch der Kais. Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen* 1892, I. 28).

There is no doubt that we have with works such as the London plate immediate forerunners of the late Roman inlaid garnets; we have gotten to know the separation of the color fields through metal ridges – even though it remains doubtful whether the color or the metal represents the pattern – as the most characteristic particularity of the garnets inlaid in gold. The date of origin for our plate, as the one for the flask of Pigunte, belongs to about the middle Roman Empire. The local origin of the London plate some English scholars would like to find in England, where it was actually found, and in support of this they argue its alleged incomplete condition<sup>105</sup>. I would not oppose such assumption as long as one admits that the great artistic consequence of this should not cause a search for its origin in a remote Roman province. That at least the oblong central field was copied after another more perfect prototype can be seen right away, because the ornamentation is especially destroyed at the lower smaller border.

105) In this respect should be remarked that the curved tendril ornamentation of these vessels shows an obvious relationship with the ones of certain English La-Tène enamels (Kemble, *Horae favales* IXX, XX) which, according to all that was said, should not surprise that we have here just two phases of one and the same courses of development (preliminary steps of one and the same aim). In the (older) English La-Tène enamel dominates insofar as a classical-tactile spirit since the enamel here constitutes either an actual pattern, even though with a clearly recognizable complementary shape, (compare Kemble, XX) or an actual ground (Kemble, XX.4).

A useful example for the infinite rapport among this class of monuments is represented also with the plate from Badenweiler in the Museum in Karlsruhe<sup>106</sup>. Here the execution is quick and original. The composition is made from finely curved tendrils in which the ivy leaves with their characteristic circular beginning of the stem are placed.

One of the most famous representatives of the entire class of monuments is, furthermore, the ladle from Pyrmont in the Museum in Arolsen. The large polygonal pattern on the surface of its body had already led some to interpret it as «Near Eastern»; the details of the ornament, however, are filled with a typical Greek spirit of form. Just the changing ground here can be found in between the pentagonals inside and outside of the central palmette.

Another example, particularly for the colorful effect of the changing ground, constitutes the hexagonal vessel in the shape of a step pyramid in the Landesmuseum in Bonn. One side of it is reproduced here on pl. VII.1; also the hexagonal lid is decorated with a leaf tendril on enamel ground while the curtailed surface serves as ground. The undulated tendris with the three foiled leaves expand toward the outside on a blue ground and toward the inside on a red ground; in the same manner the ground changes around the two bird figures. Color is not used (in the sense of the classical polychromy) to support the clear appearance of the pattern, rather (in the sense of colorism of late antiquity) to blur it. Not with the balance between moving relief and motionless plane, but with the exclusive appearance of motion the desired artistic unity is created. Here becomes evident what was missing in these middle Roman works in order to achieve the late Roman ideal perfectly. The pattern is still clearly organic (stem of tendril and leaves, birds) and possesses hence an advantage, compared with the ground, and in spite of its change of coloring. Late Roman art will abandon even the animals entirely and reduce the leaf motive to a complementary shape based on purely artistic reasons. Furthermore, the leaf motives in this group of enamels are still connected with one another; Late Roman art will also disrupt this connection. Especially these two points make the shape of the pattern among the garnets inlaid in gold differ from the ones under discussion in the enamel group. Once this step is reached, one may also limit oneself to two colors (red and gold similar to light and dark), while the present works of enamel still need several colors because they necessarily need to change with the color of the ground in order to satisfy the coloristic *Kunstabsicht*. In other words these enamels undoubtedly still have a ground, even though a changing one compared with the pattern; garnets inlaid in gold show this last difference between

106) Illustrated in Lindenschmit, *Altertümer* III.9, 4, 1.

the two completely slurred so that the patterned surface (even in comparison with the mass composition) appears to be the uniform ground. The mass composition could not yet be used for the enamels under discussion.

Yet since the changing ground constitutes the most noble medium of colorism on the level of development represented with this type of enamel, it appears necessary to add a few remarks concerning its historic position. In the same way as the infinite rapport, also the changing ground is not an absolute innovation of the middle Roman period but has had its forerunners since the beginning of a real optical perception in ancient art, that means generally at least, since the beginning of the Roman Empire. As one would expect it, this appears first in Pompei. The fragments of wall painting inventory # 9916, 9917, 9919, 9920, 9924, 9925 and others in the National Museum in Naples show tendrils with flowers and emblems, which separate two basic ground fields differing in color from one another, so that the tendril appears to be set on two different grounds similar to the one on the flask from Pinguente. But in Pompei one divided the color fields so clearly from one another, that there can be no doubt concerning the meaning of the tendril as a pattern, while on the flask from Pinguente the blue ground appears to be set into the red, and the yellow ground appears to be set into the blue. This the intended coloristic confusion visible in Pompeian works already was able to achieve to a much higher degree. As the infinite rapport in the Pompeian decoration, so its changing ground was still rather tame. It mirrors the reluctant relationship to the optical-coloristic perception, which we saw already in the sculpture of the beginning Empire. It is one and the same direction of *Kunstwollen*, which tries to make itself relevant in the various types of art, which however is in all the areas still controlled by the tactile-polychromistic perception.

Vessels and vessel plates constitute in the discussed first group of « Roman » enamels by far the majority of the monuments preserved; however, other objects were by no means excluded from it. Even disc fibulae which we have gotten to know as the typical specialty of the second Roman class of enamels can be found within the first, such as a published example, with a curved tip of the almond motive in Lindenschmit *Altertiimer* «(III.9, pl. 4, no. 2). A very singular and in many ways strange exception is, furthermore, the bronze figure of a rooster in the Paulus Museum in Worms (pl. V.1), which was found in Cologne. The animal is missing (perhaps from the very beginning) claws and tail; the beak is opened slightly as if he would be crowing. Already in the silhouette of the figure can be seen a particular mixture between the observation of the animated organic nature and a tendency toward crystalline immotion. The feathers are depicted neither with tactile projecting feathers nor with engraving which has an optical effect, but with the use of colorful enamel. On the chest this is done with diagonal

squaring; the Egyptians would have done this as well, but they would have placed the squares horizontally next to one another rather than diagonally. This diagonal position is based at the same time on the basic principle of the infinite rapport, that is infinite motion on the plane is opposite to the motionless closeness of the reclining squares within which all verticals appear to be balanced through horizontals. The wings appear no less stylized and also in motion using four parallel rows of crescent motives (fig. 88): motifs of an actual curvilinear complementary shape (compare fig. 51g). The horns of the crescents are in rows directed upwards and downwards; the flickering motion resulting from it is still increased through a triple change of the colors – red, yellow and white. However, the two latter colors are covered largely with copper oxide which turned them green. Pattern also constitutes always color fields; the ridges in between, which remained in bronze, represent the isolating spatial ground<sup>107</sup>.

We saw in the first class of ancient works of enamel of the Roman Empire predominantly vessels and parts of vessels; we will now find in the second class almost exclusively fibulae (pl. VII.2, 3; pl. VIII)<sup>108</sup>. Indeed, the overwhelming majority are disc fibulae; bow fibulae with enamel decoration such as pl. VII.2 are rather rare exceptions. Just this alone illuminates right away the *Kunstwollen* for which these enamel objects serve; indeed, the disc fibulae let the elements which have a necessarily tactile effect – pin with catchplate and knob – disappear behind an even surface. Connected with the disappearance of the tactile bow is also another technical change in that the feather usually is replaced by the hinge. Yet within this common entire plastic tendency of all disc fibulae can be observed a certain direction in development from a more reluctant to a more radical

107) In the National Museum in Naples is among the small bronzes the figure of a peacock with engraved feathers (inventory number 69.784, catalogue no. 1138 alleged to have come from Pompei) with a somehow stiff position of the body and the head. This recalls the rooster in Worms very little; however, the Pompeiian peacock, particularly in the organization and the shape of details of the feathers on the chest and tail recalls a vulture on one of those earlier mentioned jewelry objects from Siberia illustrated in de Linas, *Les origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, II Musée de l'Ermitage pl. A.1.

108) The objects combined on pl. VII all derive from the large find from Mechel (Meclo) in Southern Tyrol (Val di Non) which partly belong to the possession of the representative Luigi de Campi in Cles, partly the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck and the Museum in Trent. Of unknown origin are the examples, pl. VII.2, 3., which also belong to this group. We excluded from the fifteen objects illustrated on pl. VIII should be no. 5 immediately, because this piece belongs to the first rather than to the second group. The animal figure (deer?) represented on it is circumscribed by bronze, a ridge which was left and stands out nowadays as mangiumnese violet on blue ground.



form of expression. Already the numerous perforated examples demonstrate a connection with the *Kunstwollen* of the earlier Empire; by the way, we already have met among the non-enamel perforated works disc fibulae (see pl. XIV.1). The shield motive on the ground on pl. VIII.11 we considered to be one of the most common ones. Also the usage of the animalistic figure (pls. VII.3, VIII.1-3) we have to recognize as a symptom of a relative maintenance of the tactile perception.

A number of examples (such as the owl fibulae pl. VIII.2) have furthermore in common with the earliest perforated works the classical perception of relief, in that just the underside is generally shaped as a plane, while the upper is the facade. It is in the center as level, but at the edges not vertically cut off, but in a slanted manner, thus revealing a transition from the projection of the relief toward the (ideal) level ground, hence, (postulated undeniably by classical art) exists a connection with the latter. On the other side one cannot avoid seeing that the majority of these enamel disc fibulae are cut off at the edges vertically, through which is manifested a progressive tendency toward spatial isolation of the individual shape, which is a tendency that can be observed from the middle Empire on. Furthermore, the grid of the perforated enamel fibulae is no longer made as strong (tactile) as in earlier perforated works. If one adds still the stylistic character of the animalistic figures, which are partly brought into simple, massive, inarticulated outlines, then one comes, on the basis of the investigation of the external forms, to the undeniable conclusion that this class of enamel, even with its relative tactile representatives, does not go back at all to the time of the *Kunstwollen* represented by earlier perforated works. Among the discs, which are not perforated, the older ones show a more or less rich but always painstaking articulation on the same level (even though much later done as the mounting of the buckle from Apahida [fig. 80]).

The latest phase, already on the borderline between middle and late Roman art, is represented through examples such as pl. VIII.14 which show not just the lack of external articulation of the vertically cut outline, but also not an inner one achieved through concentric zones (such as on VIII.7, 8, 9, 12). This does not, however, exclude that VIII.14 may perhaps have been originated a little earlier than the other ones, which are advanced from the viewpoint of development; because one should never forget that one has here an unusually rich development within an Empire, where, considering the centralized production within factories, it is not important that some individual geographically very distant parts of the Empire could not keep up with the pace. To the contrary, one has just to recall our modern conditions where we also see works of art created at the same time, which however appear stylistically to be more than a hundred years

apart: the more intensive and multiple cultural life is (and this particularly one cannot deny during the second and third centuries of the Roman Empire) the greater is the distance in the *Kunstwollen* (and in the general *Wollen*) between individuals. One has to look at even larger time spans if one wishes to recognize, beyond the colorful change in fashion and in individual inclinations, the common and unifying element.

In the treatment of the enamel itself, the second class differs from the first in that the coloristic impression is not produced with a change of effect between bronze and enamel, but just with enamel alone, that is not just the ground, but also the pattern is created through the enamel, the individual parts of which with different colors touch one another immediately; furthermore, in that the pattern is almost always a geometric one. Even though a single color has always the supremacy and may therefore claim for itself to be the ground, the individual motives for the pattern are distributed on it in an isolated manner and no longer (according to the classical needs) contrasted with the ground as an entity.

Under such circumstances, the art historical importance of this type of enamel as the forerunner of inlaid garnets is without any doubt expressed. Characteristic is, furthermore, the inclination to place several colors within one another, for which particularly the owl fibula pl. VIII.2 represents an instructive proof.

Also the rosettes in *millefiori* and the chessboard sections (pl. VIII.7, II, 14) which were pressed cold into the enamel mass and through melting firmly combined with the latter, served the same tendency toward as rich and colorful a change of the colors as possible. For the bronze was left just the function of external decoration (and tectonic articulation), that is an encasing in a cell with thin walls so that from the artistic sense we have essentially a cell enamel, even though the technical process rather deserves the term of «pit» enamel. The coloristic intention, which the first class of enamel seemed to want to reach with the change of the ground color, is now achieved in the second class with lively changing colors of the pattern (and the geometric configuration of the pattern). The second class was in that respect closer to the garnets inlaid in gold than the first one, because it isolated the individual parts of the pattern; it was, however, in its strife left behind the first class because it brought still too much attention to the monochrome ground in contrast to the pattern. Thus is explained that both (already through the statistic of finds proven to be almost contemporary) types of enamel could exist next to one another, because one was especially ahead where the other was behind.

The second type of enamel was as little limited to disc fibulae as the first one was to vessels; they constitute the majority among the finds because they came from tombs which serve as our main source of know-

ledge of the craft for those times, when there was for other donations no reason. From singular finds alone, we are able to estimate how far enamel decoration on bronze (and precious metal) objects of all kinds was spread during the pre-Constantinian Empire, as an example may serve here the mounting with appendices on pl. V. 3 from Transylvania (from the side of the Roman castellum Apulum) <sup>109</sup>.

The external shape recalls the repeated bean profiles on the buckle from Apahida and also the progressed tendency toward the plane seems to point to the late period. But the cover with the punched bronze sheet, unfortunately just preserved in a fragmentary state, still shows a remnant of a tactile perception of style. It is strange that the punched bronze sheet must have kept to a certain degree the enamel cover. Expressed through this seems to be a conflict between tactile and colorful, plane-like tendency, for which I do not know any parallel, which is all the more regrettable, because the preservation of the piece is so bad.

Illustrated on pl. VII.4, 6, 7 are furthermore, three objects which constitute a connection between the first and the second clasp of enamel. Because the bronze makes a coherent pattern in the manner of the first class of enamel and places it on an enamel ground with a small pattern in the manner of the second clasp enamel, there develops a mass composition. This relationship seems to be brought to the simplest expression in the disc fibula VII.7 with a beardless human mask on blue ground with (previously) wide red circular dots.

The large disc on pl. VII.6 belongs with its perforation to a relatively early step of development (at least the third century). The lion mask in the center and the dolphins in the casing of the frame have the same effect in the tactile sense as the two concentric circles; the coloristic tendency of the middle Roman period is expressed through the fact that these circles are not given as tactile circular batons but as plain slats with colorful treatment of the surface (little *millefiori* rosettes on blue ground). The advanced level of development seems to be represented in pl. VII.4. To be dictated by the infinite rapport appears on the first side the remarkable disposition of the two red leaves on bent stems; if one imagines the plate to be multiplied to the right and to the left, then one gains a

109) A closer functional determination may be aided through the fact that on the flat rear side of the upper element there are two spacious loops (to hold a belt?) and on each of the two smaller elements there are two longer pins with heads at the ends, which justifies to recognize the whole not as an appendix, but as an articulated mounting. Usually one tries to bring such jewelry objects in connection with bridle-gear. An example with similar enamel, to date unpublished, is in the collection of Baron Lipperheide in Castel Matzen (Tyrol) a damask one from Kyllburg in the Museum in Trier published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* XIV, pl. 22, no. 2.

continuously reoccurring motive of two leaves turned into opposite directions, which are connected with one another with the aid of two bent lines of a tendril and above and below they are accompanied by a zig-zag line. The contrast between the broad red leaves and the *millefiori* ground produces here an especially effective mass composition.

From the technical point the enamel which deserves foremost the term «pit enamel» is a type of enamel known just hitherto through a few examples, as a representative of which may serve the disc on pl. VII.5. The stylistic intent is obviously more closely related to the one of the second type of enamel, because the ground here is still a unified one. The pattern is made out of isolated changing parts following one another in close sequence. The difference is that the ground color is not made from enamel but from bronze, the surface of which appears to be interrupted through actual pits meant for the reception of the enamel mass. The stocky outlines of the central cross and the heart motives demonstrate a connection with the complementary shaping of ornaments. This type of enamel belongs certainly to the latest phase of the Roman Empire, because it constitutes the immediate forerunner of those inlaid garnets, where the stone plates are not bedded into cells (as on the buckle from Apahida, fig. 80), but in a massive gold ground (such as on some pieces in Petrossa, fig. 83 and on the Swintila crown, fig. 92); if one replaces on pl. VII.5 the bronze with gold and the enamel with garnets then one immediately has inlaid garnets of the indicated type. However, this type of enamel also seems, at least in principle, to have been accepted already as a contemporary of the first group, because together with the flask from Pinguente was also found the fragment of a bronze object decorated in that manner<sup>110</sup>.

Closely related to the second and third class of enamel and on the other side, still not left without obvious particularities which separate them, is a fourth class of which the fibula, fig. 89, may serve as an example. This is not a disc fibula but a bow fibula with a hinge; the bow, however, is largely broadened and broken in an obtuse angle. The enamel decoration shows regular reciprocal rows of zig-zag by changing triangular fields of red enamel in engraved pits in a complementary manner with the triangular fields which were left as bronze ground. A special particularity of this type of enamel fibula constitutes the animal head, which served as a cover for the needle shoe at the end of the fibula. It always had the typical

110) Published E. v. Sacken and declared to be a horse rein. The largely rusted object shows five rows of punched ornaments: a middle row of pointed ovals in between two rows each of ivy leaves and quadrangles. As much as it can be seen from the remaining traces, the holes were entirely filled with enamel of alternating colors (blue and white); the surface seems to have remained without grinding.

shape of a head seen from above thus projecting its partition on the same plane with two circular eyes and three rows of engraved parallel arches in order to indicate the fur of the neck (and of the mouth). This head in particular is generally accepted as an obvious expression of barbarization. However, it constitutes the projection of a head perceived in bird's-eye view on an optical plane dictated by late Roman *Kunstwollen* done in the same analog manner as the heads, which hold the axis of the hinge on the notched buckles do. They constitute the same projection of the head now seen in profile. The engraved hatching of hair we know from the imperial portraits since Alexander Severus as a medium for the expression of the optical *fernsichtig* tendency in Roman sculpture; it is, by the way, also not rare in the second class of enamel (pl. VIII.1, 2). Yet it appears a least that this fourth class of enamel is among all the others the latest one, which means that it belongs mainly to a time after the fourth century A.D. The reciprocal triangular zig-zags (as all reciprocal patterns) indeed achieve in coloristic style the utmost slurring of the relationship between ground and pattern.

Enamel objects of the first class were found in England, France, Austria, Italy; the ones of the second class were found beyond this area as far as the Caucasus. It needs to be emphasized that entirely identical examples were repeatedly found at opposite points of Europe. Even though they have so far not yet surfaced in the actual Near East, one cannot conclude that they could not have been distributed there, because in the Near East until today (for external reasons) not only have no enamel objects been found, but generally only an extremely little number of small finds from the Roman Empire. To be mentioned in this context may be the contemporary Egyptian tomb finds which contained well preserved tactile drapery, but almost nothing in terms of jewelry or utilitarian objects.

The distribution of the discussed enamel objects all over the western half of the Roman Empire, where alone we encounter such tomb finds, and beyond it into the sphere influenced by the Empire north of the Black Sea, leads to the urgent conclusion that these enamel objects were generally known in the Roman Empire and also generally used. Nonetheless one meant to conclude from the well known and much discussed passage in Philostratus (Im. I. 28) that the culturally leading nations of the Mediterranean knew around the year 200 A.D. the enamel only as an art form used by barbarians living at the far ocean. Even if one assumes that objects such as the ones on pl. VII.6 and 7, the attribution of which to Mediterranean art is doubtlessly based on the treatment of the figurative elements, could have originated only in the third century, there remains still the fact proven through monuments that the Greeks before Augustus had known and used the enamel technique. Hence the common interpretation of the

mentioned place in Philostratus cannot be correct; the question how this interpretation would be replaced with a more sound one is not just an art historical but also a philological problem and its discussion is here excluded. Our responsibility was only to prove the identity of the *Kunstwollen* represented through the mentioned enamel with the general Mediterranean *Kunstwollen* of the Roman Empire and this problem we believe to have solved in a sufficiently convincing manner<sup>111</sup>.

The use of the enamel for the colorful decoration of the metal was remarkably limited from the fourth century on, which seems in the fifth century after a final change from the middle Roman to the late Roman direction of the *Kunstwollen* to amount to neglect. Yet it never had completely ceased to exist. The monuments which give clear proof are all connected with the barbarian question and would have, therefore, just room for discussion in the second part of this work: yet some preliminary clarifying remarks may at this place be in order for the cause of development so far observed. Two of the best known examples in enamel from the migration period are a fibula from the second find from Szilágy-Somlyó in Budapest and the iron crown of the Langobards in Monza. The first (pl. IX.3) shows in the center of the circular shaped head piece three shield-like motives composing a circle on a changing ground which consists of two green ele-

111) The remarkable fact of an even distribution of identical types all over Europe until the Caucasus has naturally stimulated the scholars, who maintained the hypothesis of the barbaric origin of the Roman enamel to attempt explanations. De Linas attributed its invention to the gypsies, who were accustomed since ancient times with many metal techniques and would as world vagabonds have brought the fruits of their work everywhere; knowing the seriousness with which this scholar pursues his research, this result looks tragically comic. Kondakoff, again, wanted to see in the phenomenon the result of a «common barbaric culture» from the first to the fourth century A.D.; however, one has to ask which the overpowering factor was in so successful a transmission between the barbarians dispersed over the whole continent crossing different languages and customs? All these hypotheses are just from the view point of the materialistic theory discussible according to which technique preceded art. As soon as one gives to the *Kunstwollen* its rights, which it deserved as the only dictating factor, then the thought that the numerous enamel found on Roman imperial soil would have been of barbaric origin, can right from the beginning not come up. Even in case the «technique» of the pit enamel would have been invented by some coloristically inclined barbaric tribe and become known to the Roman indirectly does exclude that the Pompeian (having been proven a thousand times as having positive sense for artistic articulation in enamel) would not have imported ready-made finished objects rather than making them themselves, as indicated by finds. If, however, the enamel objects found on Roman imperial soil are Roman works, then they represent Roman and not barbaric art. The role of the barbarians as inventors – if such could have been proven conclusively – would then find its proper place in the history of technology – a place in the history of art would then not be able to be claimed.

ments. The motive as well as the colorful treatment of the ground results in a close connection with the art of the middle and later Roman Empire; yet the gold bridges which constitute the design of the pattern, are not left out by the (engraved) ground but soldered as in the case of inlaid garnets such as the buckle from Apahida (fig. 80); hence, it is in the technical sense a cell enamel. The iron crown of the Langobard also is decorated with enameled golden cells. Through the courtesy of L. Beltrami I recently had the possibility to investigate this venerable work of art, though due to the circumstances, just superficially. The ring of the crown has twenty-four fields with two colored little flowers made from enamel on a translucent green (presumably glass) ground. In twenty-one of the fields the enamel of the flowers is white and blue and shows this heavy oily shine, which is typical for the later Byzantine enamels. Three fields, however, contain in place of the blue color that particular cracked red-brown, which we found on the flask from Pinguente and which we defined as the most widely distributed characteristic of the first class of Roman enamel. To this is added a subordinate difference in the shape of the enlarged ends of the blossom stems. Those in the first twenty-one fields appear to have a more massive broadening of the cell ridge. The latter three appear to have a band ridge of equal width even at the very end. There is no doubt that the crown of the Langobards with its enamel work is a piece that belongs to two different times. No less important here is the question whether the twenty-one fields with Byzantine enamel were restored in the time of Theodelinde or at a later point. However, very pointedly, I would like to bring the three fields with the rusty-brown enamel closer to the time of origin established for the flask from Pinguente, which would also fit the known tradition, which brings the making of this crown in connection with emperor Constantine and his mother. Hence, we again encounter as a result that the real cell enamel was used during a time in between the middle and late Roman period among the Mediterranean nations. Hence, the old general opinion is rebutted which saw the cell enamel as the exclusive characteristic of mature Byzantine art. This point is obviously misunderstood so that an additional clarification seems necessary.

The entire history of enamel in antiquity demonstrates that the enamel was never from the artistic point of view pit enamel, but always, more or less, *celle* enamel. Among the Egyptians, this was even in the technical sense the case; but even in the La-Tène enamel and in the third Roman class of enamel the essential characteristic of the real pit enamel is missing (that is the Northern from the twelfth century on) according to which wrought metal surfaces with broad color surfaces imbedded in engraved hollows seem to be composed together. Especially the most important and most numerous classes of Roman enamel — the first and the second — have

the bronze between the color field shrink just to or almost to linear outlines. The metal ridges were meant to isolate the individual shapes from one another; this could be the part of an animalistic body, but also of vegetative origin and, finally, even those with colorful geometric decoration. Exactly the same role was later given to the gold ridges of the Byzantine enamel. Enthusiastic laudators of Byzantine art such as Kondakoff, however, tried to claim for their enamel the fame that for the first time it would have taken up the problem (neglected in all periods of earlier art) to represent the human figure. This is proven to be erroneous by the heads of the fibula with the human mask (pl. VII.7) where one needs just to replace the bronze ridges with soldered golden ridges in order to achieve a perfect Byzantine enamel. Especially this example demonstrates convincingly that everything depends on the *Kunstwollen* and nothing on the technique, when there is to be created a work of art of a certain character. Now no one will consider it to be anachronistic, if the three fields with cell enamel on the crowns of Monza should originally belong to the Constantinian period. The desire to conserve the precious metal would suffice as reason why one soldered in this case the ridges instead of leaving them standing between the fround. Indeed, it is neither the pit nor the cell and generally no other technical substitute, but the intended effect, that is the colorful appearance of the enclosed shape in space and on the plane that is important in giving a work of art its historical character.

On pls. IX-XII are combined still a number of garnets inlaid in gold, which came almost exclusively to light on Hungarian soil and were hence taken for barbaric works. This hypothesis does not even exclude Italian finds such as figs. 90 and 91. At least in Italy everyone is convinced that these « barbaric » things were brought by the Goths into the country even though the relevant finds are limited no longer to the « armor of Odovakar » in the Museum of Ravenna, but came to light also in individual cases in the city of Rome; and foreign scholars are more inclined to agree with the Italians. A decision concerning this point can only be made in connection with the discussion of the entire « barbarian question » and must be left to the second volume of this work. Yet two of the points may have to be discussed in advance, because they are able to contribute an essential insight for the clarification of the problem we are faced with in this present first volume – the proof for the closest connection between garnets inlaid in gold and the *Kunstwollen* of the Mediterranean nations during the late Roman period. It is first the proof that garnets inlaid in gold were still in the time after Justinian used among the Mediterranean nations; further a characterization of the most essential differences between the garnets inlaid in gold as monuments of alleged barbaric origin and monuments of late Roman art such as the style of the buckle from Apahida.



The continuous use of garnets inlaid in gold and at the same time the continuation of the leading role of the Greek artistic life among the Mediterranean nations is proven for the seventh century through the votary crowns found near Toledo, which the inscribed names of Visigothic kings date firmly and which constitute, together with the tomb find of Childerich, a firm basis for our view of the development of inlaid garnets within the late Roman art period. Yet, indeed, these crowns were ever since taken as convincing proof in favor of the Gothic origin of this entire type in art. We do not wish to raise here the question of how the Goths during their century long marches as mercenary soldiers and later as military rulers over a large population of subjects had time left and desire to do goldsmith work, and we also do not wish to add the supplementary question, where the craft studios of the West Roman subjects were moved to. Just the external characteristic of the monuments gives us a medium at hand in order to prove their dependency from the Mediterranean late Roman art, whether they were actually made by the Goths or not.

First of all, there can be found on the crown of Swintila (in Madrid) still the two types of inlaid garnets used next to one another: on one side in cells with the help of soldered ridges and the added letters of the votary inscription, on the other side with hollows on the ring (fig. 92). The latter has in its middle a broad stripe with inlaid garnets on the borders and also has on each a row of set concave stones in casings. We found the concave stones of the border already to be remarkable on the buckle of Apahida (fig. 80); yet, there they remain still without encasings, the appearance of which (fig. 92) constitutes thus an innovation. In contrast to this in the middle part (with the exception of the centralized concave stones) nothing can be discovered which would go beyond the level of development as represented in the buckle of Apahida. On first sight the garnet plate appears as pattern on a gold ground. We observe an inner wreath of raised calotte motives and an outer one of spheric triangular motives (flat scales); however, if one looks closer, one sees that they are just complementary motives and that the original linear pattern is resting on the gold ground: on one side appears a circle around a centralized stone, then a wreath of semicircular arches, finally an enclosing circle all around, to which is added a circle neighboring on both sides and forming triangular corners<sup>112</sup> with the first ones together at the edges.

If one imagines the central stripe simply perforated at those places, where the garnets are now sitting, one of those has numerous gratings

112) A very similar relationship between the pattern cells and the remaining gold ground in between can be established through an attentive observation of the disc on the bird fibula on Petrossa (fig. 83).

as they were made in marble in the later Roman Empire. The coloristic intent, however, which produced this slur of the relationship between ground and pattern, we could observe in the perforated works from a time when there was no mention about an influence of the « barbarians » in the Empire. The style of the inlaid garnets on the ring is, hence, a late Roman and not, a barbaric one. The convex stones of the center as well as those of the borders express a mass composition, which we already know as a late Roman (and particularly not ancient but futuristic) element in art, and which through the addition of casings (about which there will be said something special below) from the time of the origin of the buckle of Apahida (the fifth century) on was enhanced.

Another proof that the Visigothic crowns originated from late Roman Mediterranean art is given through the flat leaf-like perforated elements (fig. 93), which belong to the chain of the crowns. Already the main motive of the palmette recalls in its outlines the late Roman tendency toward complementary shapes. The articulation within the individual part of the leaves is now produced with the combination of points and hatches, which we might call the hatch-point motive. They can be found very frequently in finds from Hungary from the seventh and eighth centuries and especially in the great mass find from Nagy-Szent-Miklós. Yet Italian finds with hatch-point ornamentation are not missing, the Langobard cemetery of Castel Trosino had many<sup>113</sup>. Origin and meaning of the hatch-point motive is not just barbaric, but rather as much Mediterranean as it can be said about any motive of pre-Carolingian art. The hatch-point is indeed nothing else than a direct descendent of the drill technique in marble; it can be traced even in marble works of the sixth century in a monumental manner: for example, on a choir screen from the Cathedral in Ravenna (fig. 94). To the same degree the hatch-point ornamentation could be found in objects from Egypt, which one would hesitate to interpret as barbaric export ware. The buckle illustrated in fig. 95 I bought from a dealer in Cairo. Its basic shape is established as the most common type during the seventh and eighth centuries based on numerous finds particularly from Italy, Egypt, Hungary and Southern Russia, but also from Western Europe. Besides the set stones we find as a decoration here in fig. 95 also the hatch-point (on the upper side of the mounting, the tongue, and on the lateral sides of the tongue). The narrow row of notched zig-zag

113) In the Terme Museum in Rome, unfortunately not yet published and not available for research for non-Italian scholars. The second [large find of the same kind, from Nocera Umbra, is also kept in that museum and can be inspected just with special permission of the Inspector General for all Italian museums. (For new literature see bibliography).

shows clearly how close the drilled hatch-point and the notch are externally; there is no longer a need for their genetic artistic connection as a medium of expression of the common optical coloristic *Kunstwollen*, according to all that was said earlier.

In every point the Visigothic crowns prove thus to be the products of late Roman art, whereby it is completely unimportant whether they were made by barbarians or by West Romans or East Romans. I prefer to imagine them to be made by the hands of East Roman goldsmiths. Here I have in mind not just the distribution of the hatch-point ornamentation in the Mediterranean, but also the still leading role of Greek art in general. Spanish scholars, who thirty years ago called the style represented by Visigothic crowns Latino-Byzantine came thus intuitively close to the right track; the notions, however, which they derived from this style in detail were anything but historic truth.

On pl. IX-XII were intentionally combined almost exclusively monuments of such character which on first sight seem to allow the conclusion that they are different from late Roman art and thus of barbaric origin or Near-Eastern nationality. One must emphasize, therefore, that also the number is very large of the monuments with garnets inlaid in gold, for which one has no basis to attribute them to Mediterranean origin. For jewelry as it is reproduced in figs. 96-99 there exists no obvious reason to deny its attribution to late Roman art. The same is true for appendixes such as fig. 100, in which the complementary origin of the configuration is already evident in the concave outlines.

To outline later alledged barbaric innovation in the combination between red garnets with gold and the buckle of Apahida, there can be used very well as an example the fibula pl. IX.1 from the second find from Szilágy-Somlyó. The most remarkable effect is that the garnets here are not (may it be with ridges or may it be done with pits) imbedded, but are set on the gold-ground. Furthermore, they are not level but convex and framed with filigree. The appendix on pl. I.4 found at Apahida together with the much discussed buckle presents itself also as an earlier element in this chain, since necklace and pattern of the animalistic head maintain here still entirely the style of the flat inlaid garnets, even though eyes and ears are set and encased, but not yet convex, but shaped as flat plates.

The most important innovations constitute the encasings, because with them there seems to be created again a connection between the set garnets and the ground (in place of the earlier strictly spatial isolation). We see here a similar partial return to the sculptural element as we saw in the sculpture with a (seemingly) reactivation of the relief ground, etc. But one look at the entire effect of the set garnets with the golds is sufficient to demonstrate that the *Kunstabsicht* remains nonetheless essentially a

coloristic one. The medium thus constituted partially a return to the tactile element; the basic intent, however, is still a coloristic one. It is a process which dominates the late Roman development, particularly during the period between Justinian and Charlemagne, and which constitutes exactly the nature of the art, which from the ninth century on we are used to call Byzantine art.

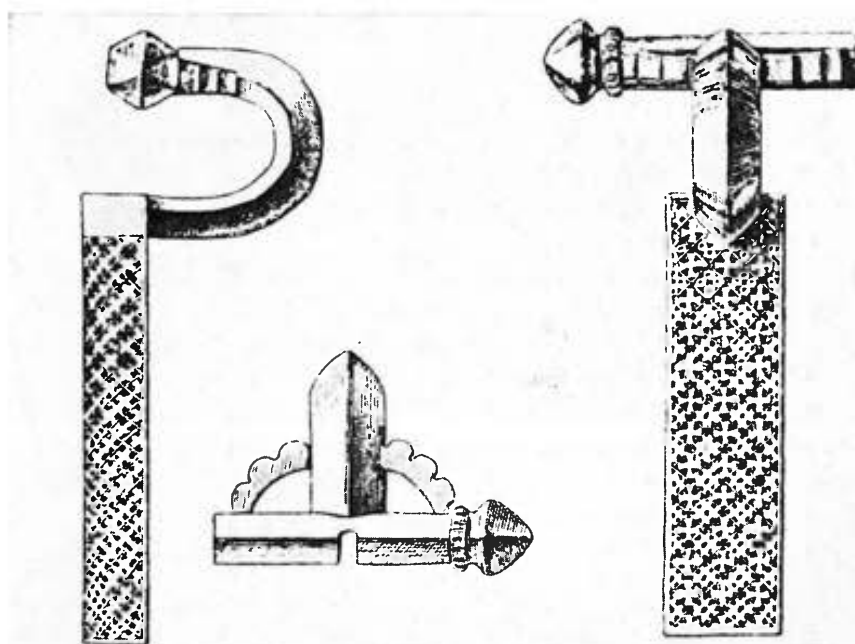
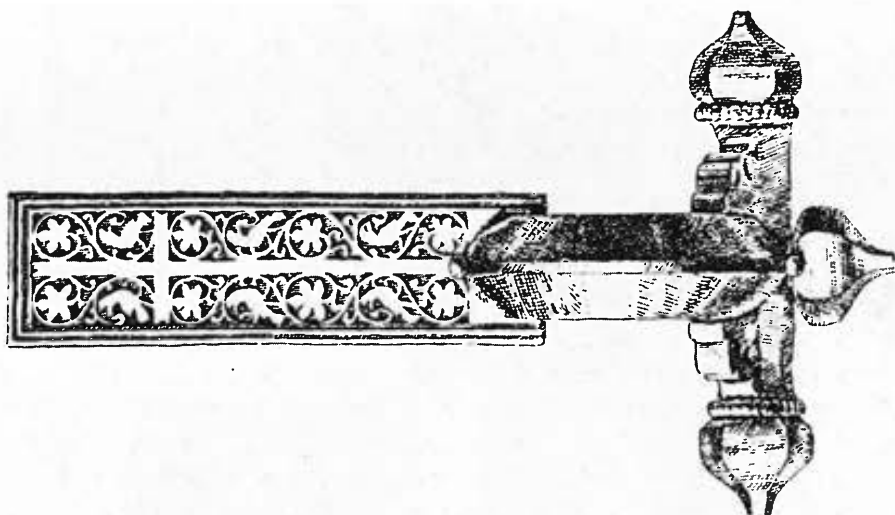
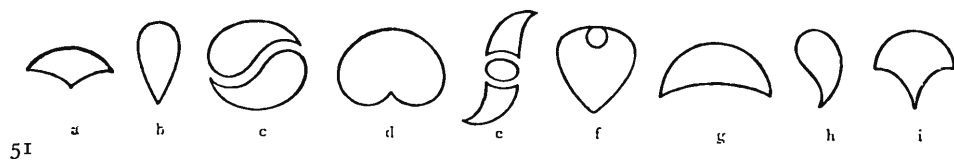
In the same way the rich use of filigree has to be interpreted. Filigree as the tactile, i.e. crowning element just able to be combined on the plane, was an inseparable companion of all those periods of art, which attempted with the tactile motive plane-like effects; hence, it was used largely from the archaic period until the classical, and it was less used during the hellenistic period, and it was again favoured gradually and steadily from the third century of the Empire. The composition of the filigree in triangular fields (pl. IX.3, XII.1) can be found in the so-called Etruscan gold jewelry works, which are still close to archaic art; we will not object to the explanation that their renewed appearance in late Roman art was based on the phenomenon of a particular ancient popular art kept alive all through antiquity. At a moment when international fashion adopted again a related feeling (that means opposite), it was then interpreted to be functional. Even though such an assumption is not necessarily conclusive, I am not opposing it.

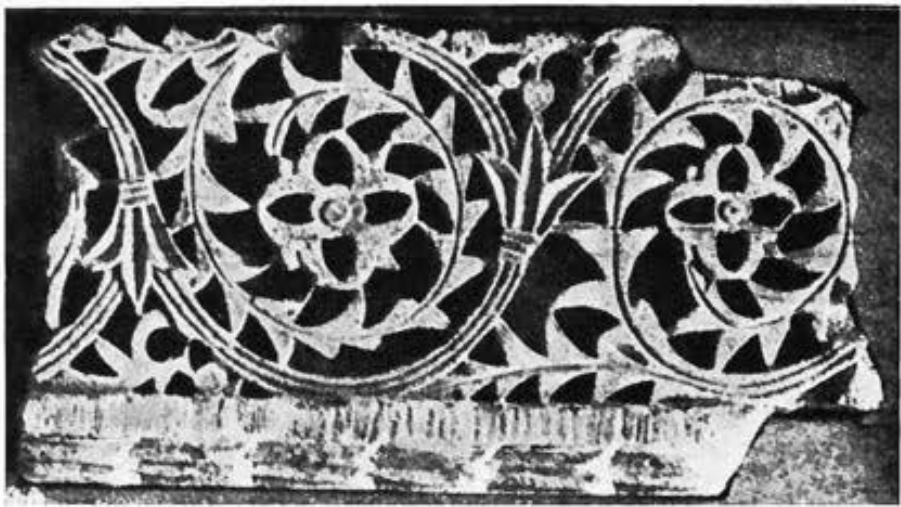
Characteristic for the later inlaid garnets are also the many heads of beasts and bird-heads with curved beaks. Their use in necklaces (such as pl. XII.2 and 8) can easily be connected with ancient usage, such as we already saw in the notched buckles (as holders of the axis of the hinge). But also as free ends such as on pl. IX.1 the animalistic heads are basically nothing new<sup>114</sup>. The point of the tongue on pl. XII.3,6 is at the end transformed into a sketchy animalistic head, a type which the notched bronzes had suppressed altogether. Just the two animalistic figures with snake bodies at the head on pl. IX.1 have to be left without discussion, because with such discussion we could not avoid the much debated problem of the «Germanic animalistic ornamentation».

Strangest feelings are evoked through sculptural works such as the lion fibula on pl. X and the buckle on pl. XI, both from the more recent find from Szilázy-Somlyó. It may even be possible to hold marginally the lion fibula with the polygonal buttons and the flattened egg and dart ornamentation to our view of late Roman art. It is not so much the motive of the quadropeds in single file (which can be found in a similar manner

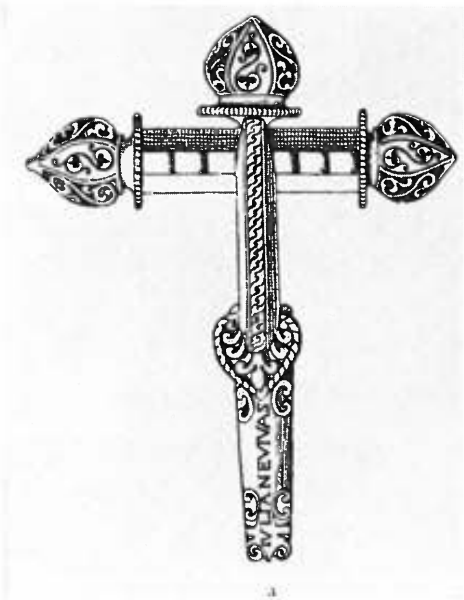
<sup>114</sup>) On the right plate of the Probus diptych from Aosta (fig. 37) from the year 406 A.D. the handle of the sword, which Honorius carries on his belt, ends a «Germanic» bird-head with curved beak.

also on other Mediterranean monuments of Late Roman time such as the numerous embroidered drapery stripes from Egyptian tombs) that give the buckle on pl. XII an entirely isolated position rather than the embossed work with which the animals are executed. Even though the relief here is relatively flat it surpasses, by a considerable degree, the height of those dated relief works of the fifth century such as the Florentine shield of Aspar. Only in the mass find from Nagy-Szent-Miklós from the eighth century will we find again a relief of similar height. Less strange an impression is created by the works with round convex garnets with which the ground between the animalistic figures appears to be filled; indeed, the type of art, which finally accepted in opposition to that of the classical past mass composition, does not surprise us when it places pattern above pattern.





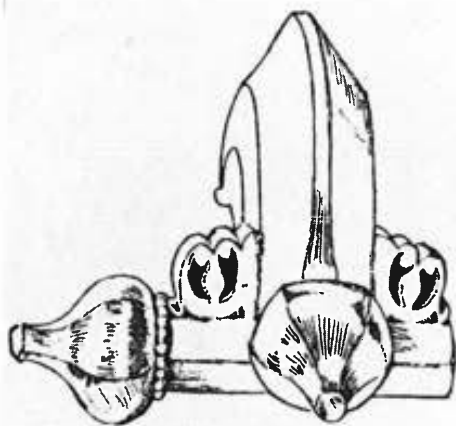
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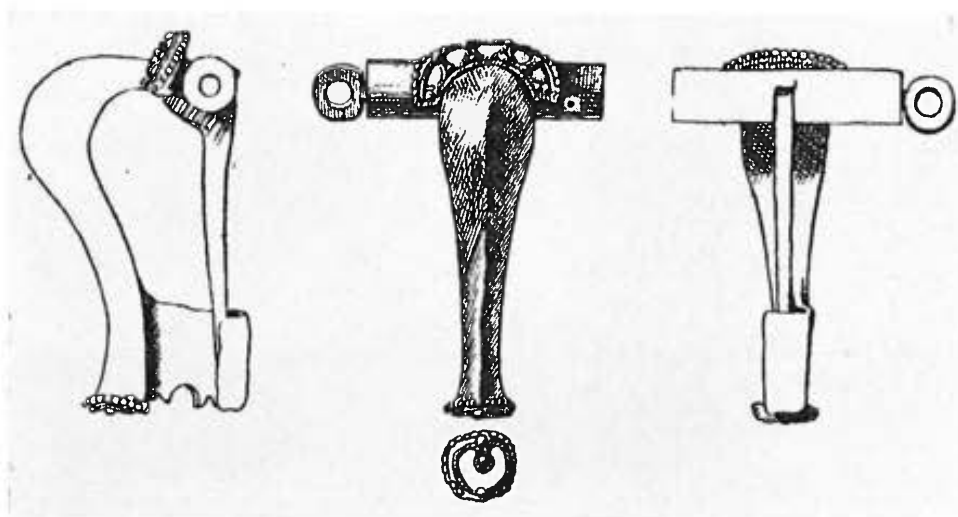
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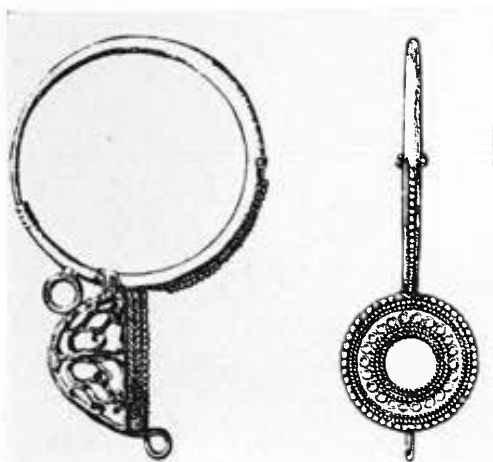


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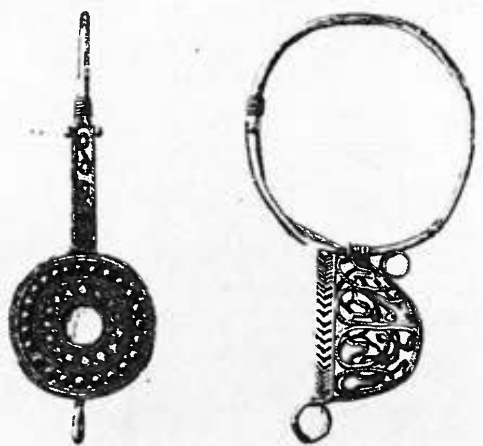


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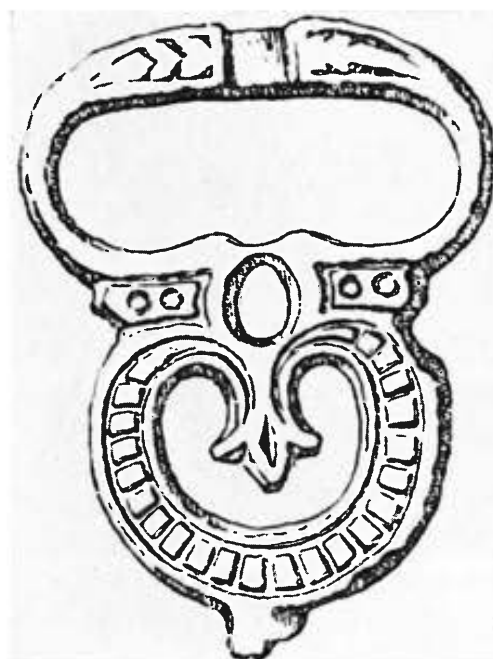




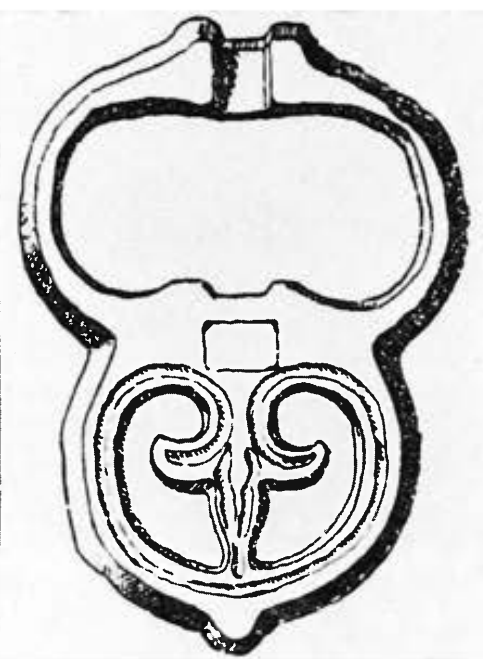
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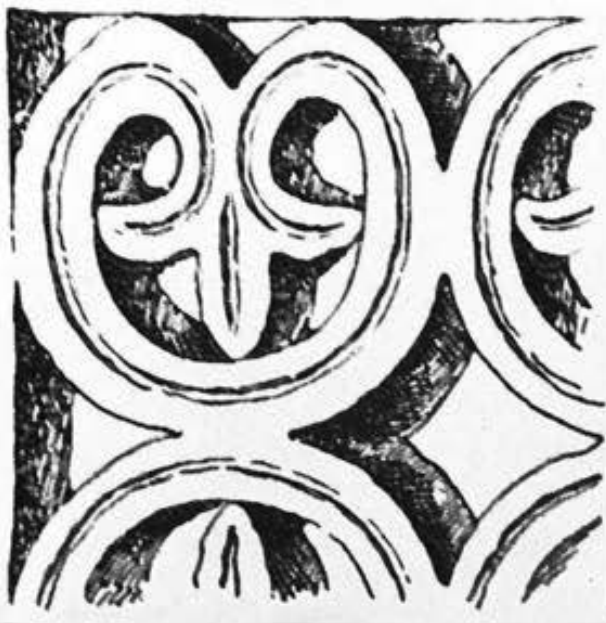
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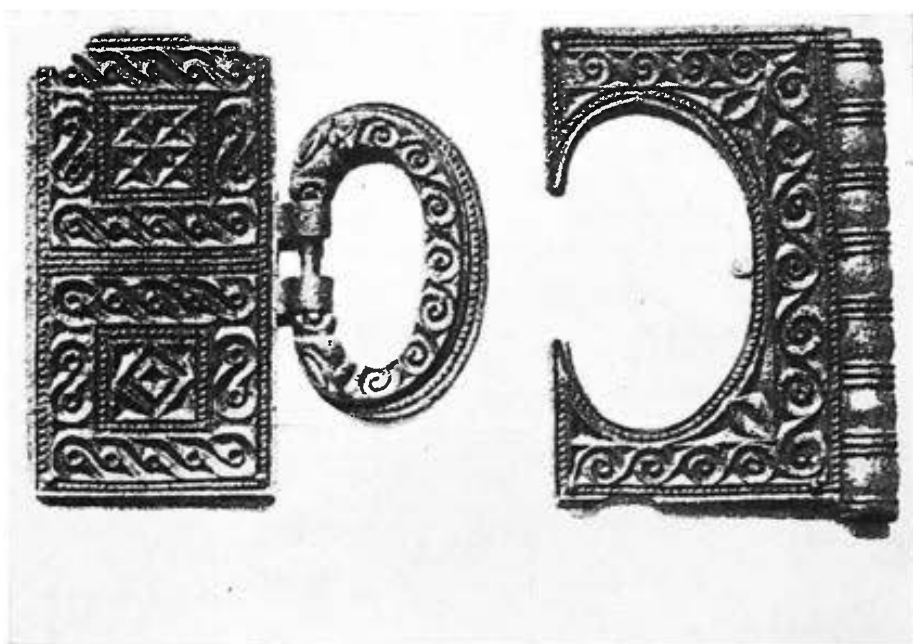
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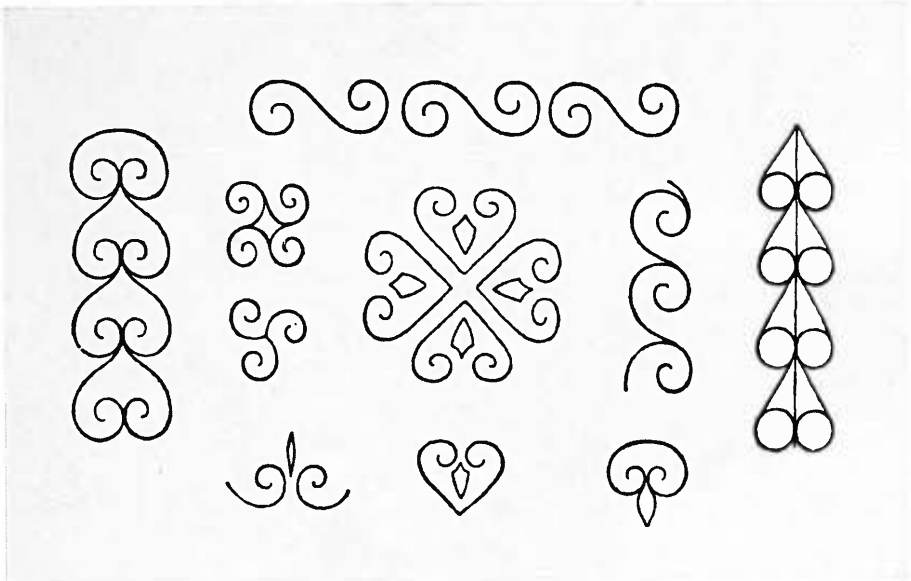
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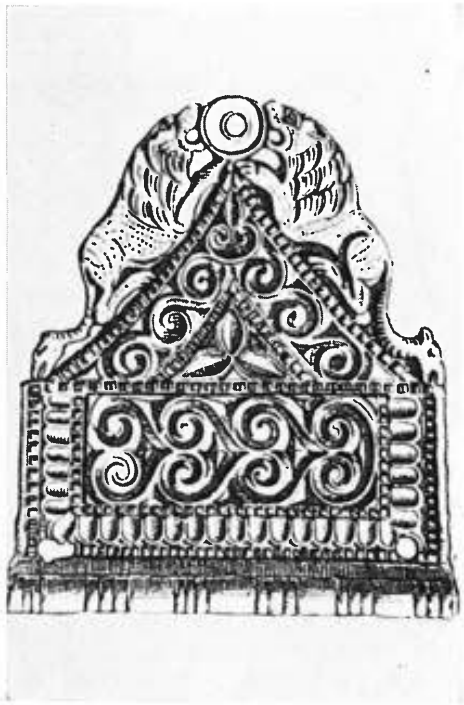
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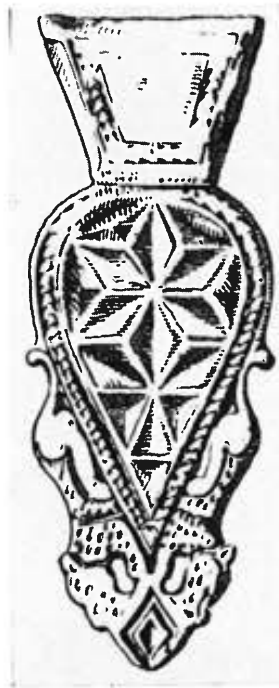
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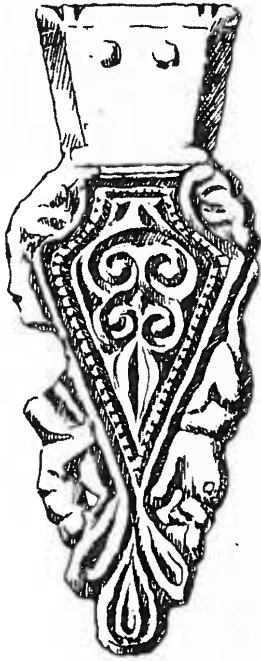
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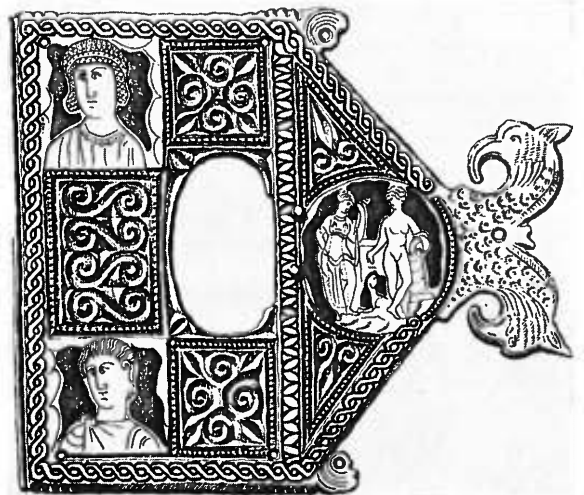
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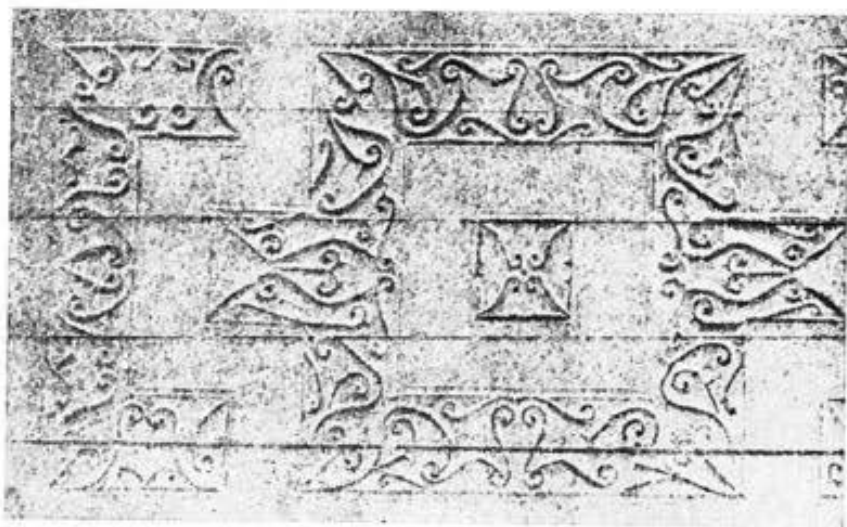
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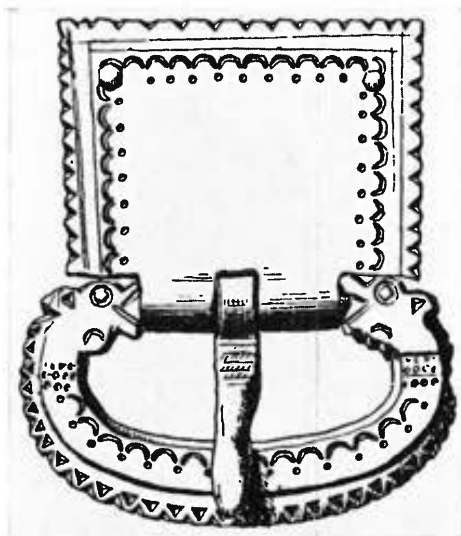
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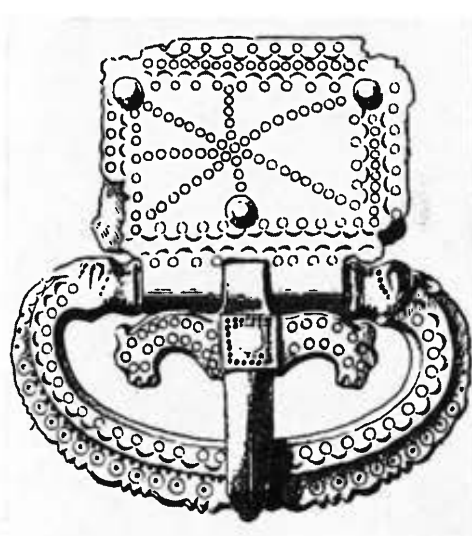
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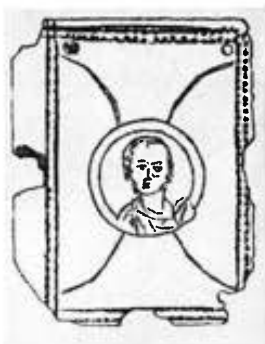
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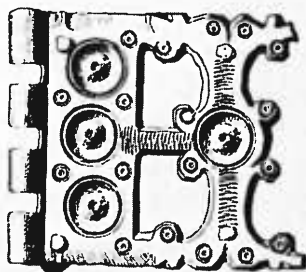
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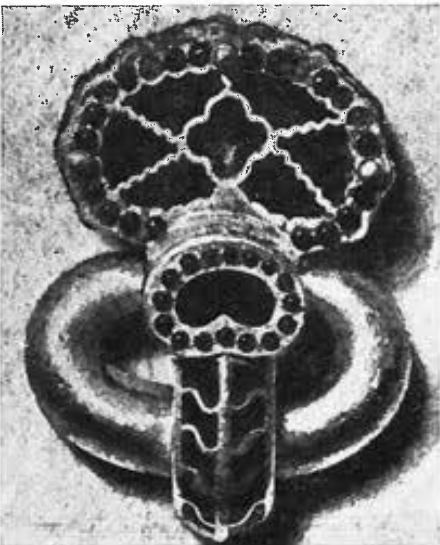


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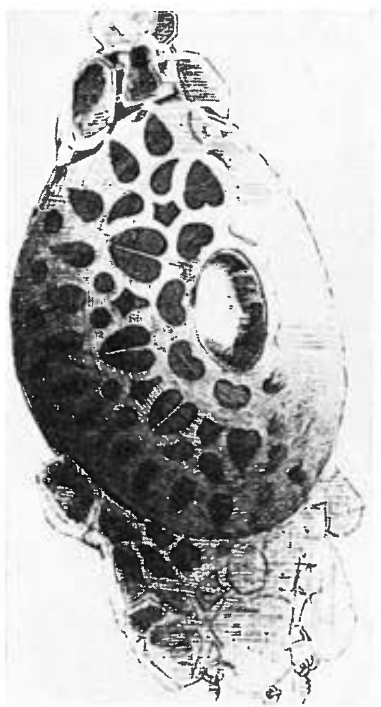
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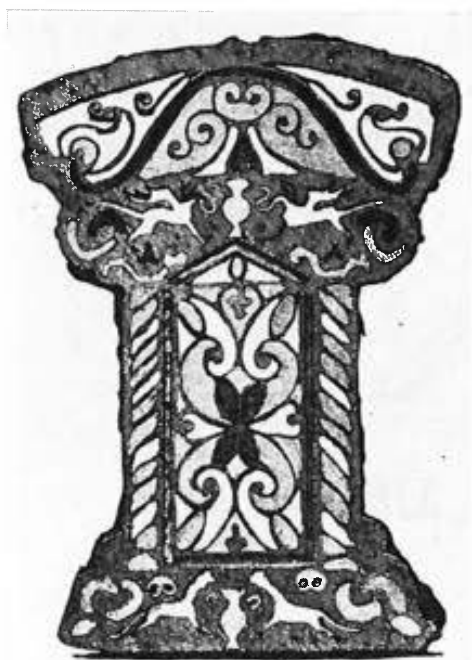
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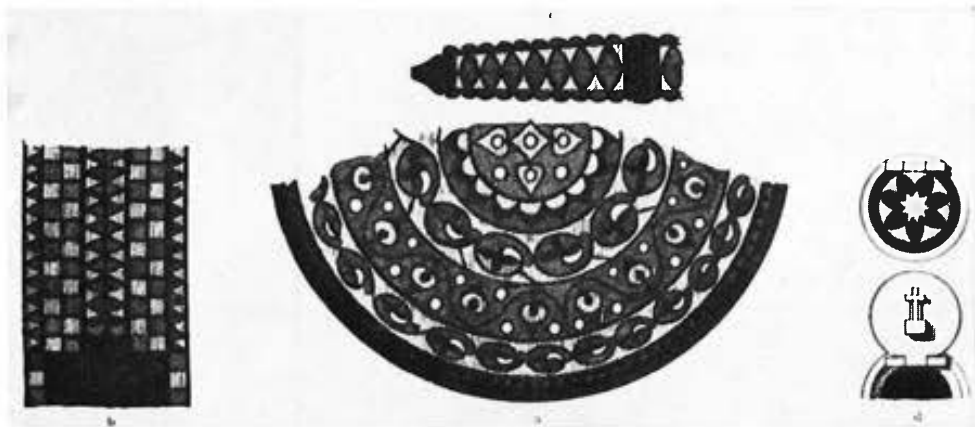
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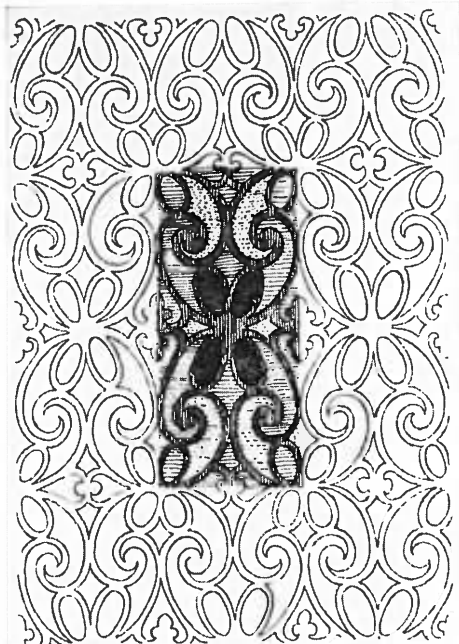


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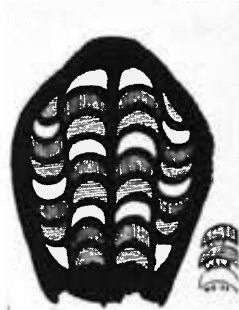


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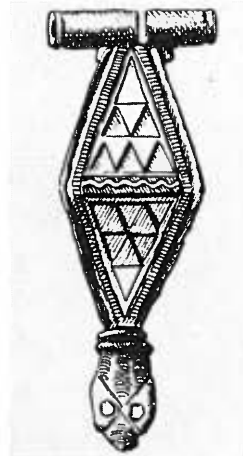




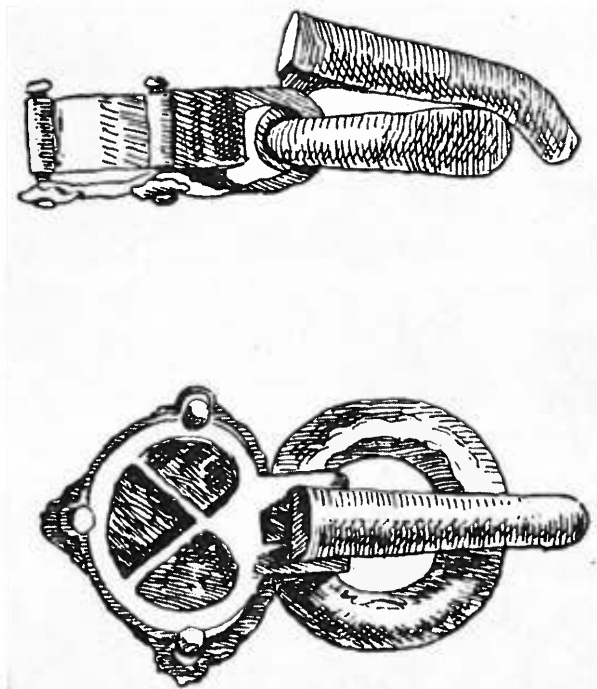
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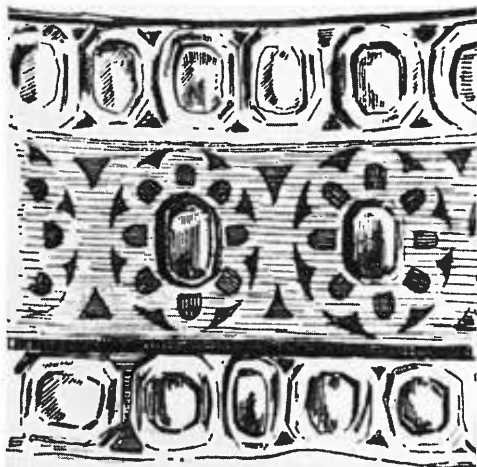
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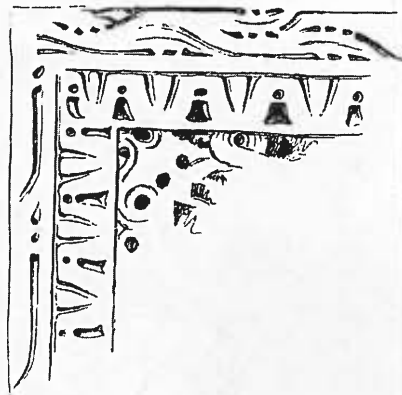
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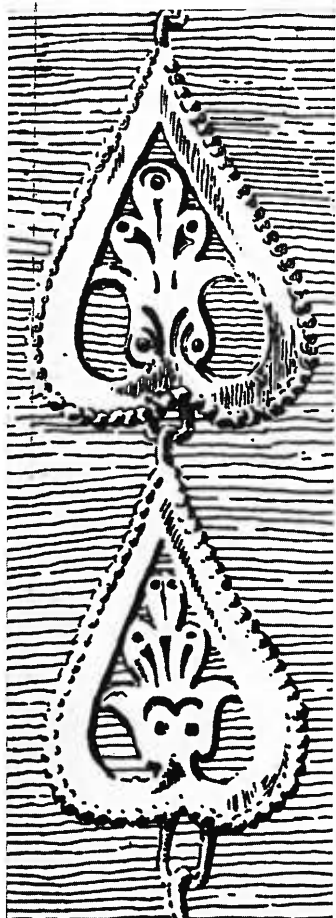
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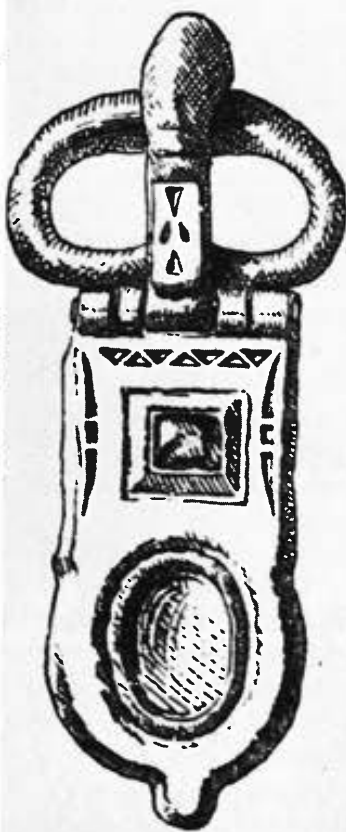
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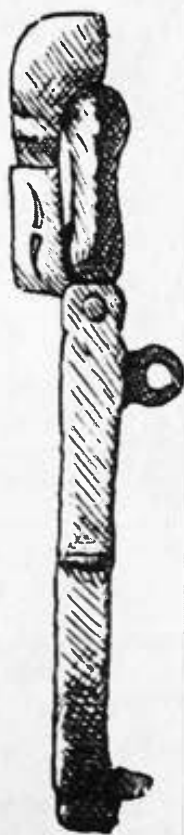
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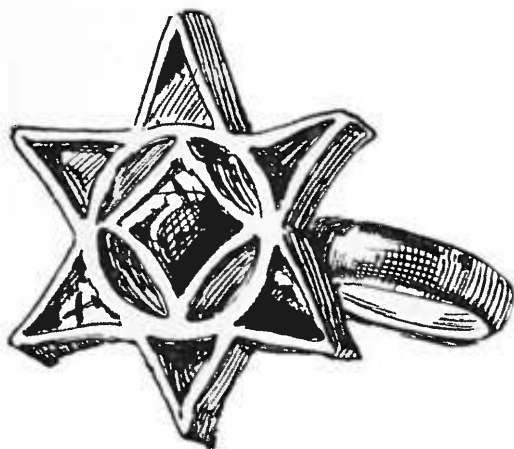


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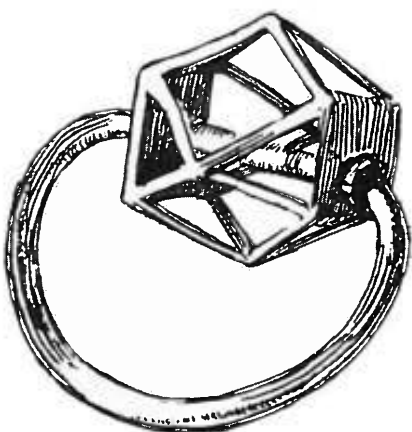


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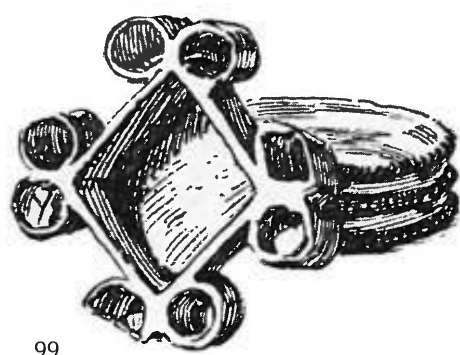




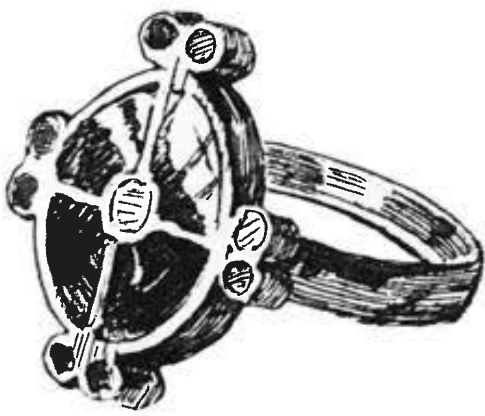
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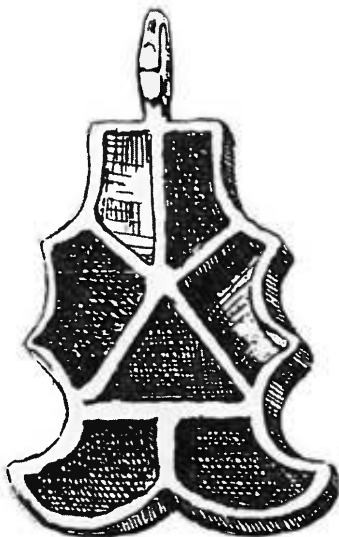
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## THE LEADING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LATE ROMAN *KUNSTWOLLEN*

The late Roman *Kunstwollen* has in common with the *Kunstwollen* of all previous antiquity that it was still oriented toward the pure perception of the individual shape with its immediately evident material appearance, while modern art is less concerned with the sharp separation of the individual appearances and more than with a connection of collective appearances, or especially with a demonstration of an independence of seemingly individual elements. The essential artistic medium which late Roman art used in the same way as antiquity in order to reach this artistic goal was rhythm. With rhythm, that is the sequential repetition of the same appearances, the coalition of the parts to an individual entity became immediately obvious and convincing to the beholder; and where there were several individual elements it was rhythm again which was able to create a higher unity. Rhythm, however, as long as it appears to be evident for the beholder is necessarily bound to the plane. Rhythm exists from elements beside and above one another, but not behind one another; in the latter case, individual shapes and parts would overlap and thus withdraw themselves from the immediate visual perception of the beholder. Hence, an art which wants to present units in a rhythmic composition is forced to compose on the plane and to avoid deep space. As all ancient art, so also late Roman art strove for the representation of individual unifying shapes via a rhythmic composition on the plane.

Late Roman *Kunstwollen* differs from previous art periods in antiquity – the more the further apart it is from them, and less harsh the closer it is to them – in that it was not satisfied with looking at the individual shape in its two-dimensional expansion, but it wanted to see it in its three-dimensional, fully spatial boundaries. Consequently, connected with this was the separation of the individual shape out of the universal visual plane (ground) and its isolation from the ground level and from other individual shapes. Yet the individual shape here was not only free, but free are also the individual intervals of ground lying in between, which prior to that

were bound on a common ground level (visual plane); following the complete isolation of the individual shape there was thus at the same time an emancipation of intervals, the elevation of the hitherto neutral shapeless ground to an artistic one, that is, to an individual unity of a finished powerful shape. The medium for it remained still rhythm, which results in the fact that now the interval also had to be shaped rhythmically.

While the intervals were now like the individual shapes, separated three-dimensionally from depths, they produced also a free spatial niche of a particular depth. Even though this depth was never considerable, it would question an effect of a rhythm bound to the plane. It sufficed, however, to fill the intervals thus treated more or less with dark shadows, which, together with the projecting bright individual shapes in between, created a colorful rhythm between light and shadow, black and white. This color rhythm, which belonged especially to the middle Roman works, but also to the fourth century, (sarcophagi of the City of Rome), remained particularly dominant for a long time in architecture and in the crafts, it ceased a bit on essentially late Roman figurative reliefs (sarcophagi from Ravenna), which again reveals an inclination toward the return to a tactile perception in order to attribute to the linear rhythm an even greater unlimited dominance. Besides those we find even in the advanced late Roman period figurative reliefs which in the middle Roman tradition observe color rhythm as well as linear rhythm.

The levelling of the ground and the individual shapes led in the cases where one wanted to emphasize the individual shape, still effectively to the mass composition: an even more unheard phenomenon within ancient art since it obviously constitutes also the preliminary step to the modern perception of the collective character of seemingly individual shapes.

The isolation of the individual shape has also had its influence on the expression of the rhythm in that the rhythm was now no longer concerned only with articulation and change, which always had a combining effect, but also with simplification and creation of massiveness. While classical rhythm was one of contrast (contrapposto, triangular composition), late Roman rhythm as such became the one of a series with equal shapes (quadrangular composition). As soon, however, as the individual shapes dissolved their connection with one another, they were represented in their objective appearance separated from a momentary relation to other individual shapes whenever possible. Hence, there develops the striving for objectivity of the appearance of the typical character, and the anonymity of late Roman art, which is always inseparably connected with such an anti-individualistic artistic creation.

We know of these main leading characteristics of late Roman art from a thorough investigation of the monuments of the four types of art. Yet

there exists a medium hitherto unused with which we may test the correctness of our results. This medium is the comparative use of literary sources by the late Romans concerning *Kunstwollen* in artistic creation.

I would like to bring herewith to the attention of the scholars an art historical source, which has been to date neglected to the same degree as the literary sources where, which contain external, local and time data that have been the object of greatest appreciation and diligent studies. Yet a time which liked to perceive the work of art as a mechanistic product of raw material, technique and the immediate external reason of purpose, could in the utterances of authours concerning the *Kunstwollen* of their time, see nothing else than speculative fantasies: in the eyes of the art materialists there exists no conscious *Kunstwollen* and what was said about it in earlier times could in the best case be just a worthless self-deception, not to say, intended deception. But whoever realized that mankind meant to see the visual appearances according to outlines and color on the plane or in space at different times in a different manner, will without hesitation, be familiar with the thought that the utterances of studious and learned men about what they expected from the work of art of their time deserve full attention from art historical research. This can be seen as a medium which might help us test whether ideas reached by us with our subjective observation about the leading *Kunstabsichten* of a certain period were indeed the ideas of those belonging to the period. In other words, if at that time one indeed wanted from the visual arts what we imagine it to have been based on aer investigation of the monuments, then this obviously will be the true and only reliable proof for our results of research.

The material which is available for such purposes from the time between the third and the fifth centuries is extremely rich and would permit a most thorough proof. For the late pagans, we have mainly the neo-platonic philosophers and among them above all, Plotinus. It would be no less enlightening to look at the christian authors. At this place the teaching of St. Augustine about beauty and its relation to late Roman art may be sketched – not so much to describe the subject and not at all to exhaust it, but rather than to offer proof that it is possible to solve this future problem of art historical research <sup>115</sup>.

115) In view of the skepticism which has hitherto met the investigation of such kind, it seems to be timely to emphasize right away that Augustine does not limit himself like modern philosophers of aesthetics to the postulation of general abstract doctrines, but – even though not very frequent, still often enough – talks about individual works of art or certain details of the creation of the individual objects. Hence, comes a comforting certainty that Plotinus was very well aware in which

According to Augustine, essential beauty lies only with God; yet, on the other side there is no object in nature that would not contain traces (vestigia) of beauty: even ugly objects are not excluded from this <sup>116</sup>. The visual arts have the responsibility during the imitation (imitatio) of natural objects to emphasize those traces of beauty one-sidedly <sup>117</sup>. Hence,

manner the general doctrines forwarded by him were expressed in the individual work of art in a clear and certain manner.

In his early years as a Pagan Augustine wrote according to his own admittance some books *de pulchro et apto*. Through this title we recognize a differentiation between artistic function and external function (may it be functional use or may it be function of imagination) which was removed through a mechanistic manner of observation during the second half of the nineteenth century, which nowadays, in view of the impossibility to explain the appreciation of a work of art mechanically, begins to be again of value. The mentioned work of the young Augustine was already lost during his lifetime, which we have to regret even more than he himself did the latter with the motivation that he had searched with it for beauty less in God rather than in the visual appearances of visual arts, dance, music, poetry. As a christian he wrote six books on *de musica*, which deal mainly with metrical subjects. Much more important and numerous are remarks in parenthesis concerning the beauty and the fine arts, which are spread all through his works. A compilation of those was attempted in a monograph which appeared in the year 1891 at Poitiers by A. Berthaud: *Sancti Augustini doctrina de pulchro ingenisque artibus e variis illius operibus excerpta*. A complete combination of the pertinent places was little reached in this book, even to the degree that very basic and entirely characteristic utterances of Augustine are missing. On the other side Berthaud frequently misunderstood the ideas of Augustine, which is especially explained through the fact that he was not familiar with the character of contemporary art monuments. Yet I have in lack of time for systematic search of St. Augustine's writings consulted conveniently for my studies the book by Berthaud, at least the parts for the quotes.

116) Augustine is thus one of the first who recognized the relativeness between beauty and ugliness; how he opposed in that respect earlier antiquity will be demonstrated below. Ugliness as such he still defines in an entirely ancient spirit in that he determines this as shapeless (deformed), that is, not belonging to a completed individual shape.

117) The naturalistic and idealistic side which any work of art without exception combines in itself, could not be defined more conclusively than it is done in this definition. However, to reclaim the « naturalism » for particular styles can just lead to misunderstandings. The ancient Egyptian, who tried to represent the objects in their strictly « objective » appearance meant this to be as « naturalistic » as one could imagine. The Greek, however, felt his own to be especially « naturalistic » when he compared his with them. And could the master of the portraits of Constantine with its lively expression of the eyes not have felt he was a greater « naturalist » than, for example, the master of the portrait of Pericles? Yet all three would have, in the most modern sense, taken « naturalism » for something purely unnatural. Indeed, each style of art strives for a true representation of nature and nothing else and each has indeed its own perception of nature in that he views a very particular phenomenon of it (tactile or optical, *Nahsicht*, *Normalsicht*, or *Fernsicht*). Entirely unscholarly

everything points to the question of what Augustine would have understood under the generally dispersed « traces » of beauty. These are, to say it right away, the principal goals of all ancient artistic creation: unity (isolated perception of the individual shape) and rhythm.

The individual completeness of the shape is understood also by Augustine (as by all his ancient predecessors) to be as much a precondition for all existence as it was a seat and manner of expression for beauty in all objects from nature <sup>118</sup>. His ideas differ from the ancient Near Eastern and the early Greek ones through dualistic perception, according to which in each object besides the materialistic unity of shape there exists also a spiritual one, which is of higher value than the first one: a perception, which, by the way, in its very roots goes back, as is generally known, to the pre-Alexandrian Greeks <sup>119</sup>. Hence, Augustine concludes that the responsibility of the artist is nothing other than to produce as much as he can in his art work, all which seems to make the individual formal entity of the shape of a natural object really evident.

Even more valuable for us is the following: in individual cases Augustine explains with clear words how he sees unity as the expression of beauty in particular types of art. So, for example, during the dialogue with an architect with whom he agrees that he should not strive for anything but unity in his buildings and that he should try to reach this mainly

(even though commonly done) to base « naturalism » on the character of the motive. This reveals, it seems, the indestructable confusion between the history of art and iconography, even though the creative art is not concerned with « what » but with « how », and lets « what » be presented, particularly through poetry and religion. Iconography reveals thus to us not so much the history of the *Wollen* in the visual arts but rather than poetic and religious *Wollen*. That there exists a bridge between the two was already emphasized in as much as the meaning, to which belongs to a deeper knowledge of the connection, has been pointed out emphatically; yet, in order to create this connection usefully it is necessary to separate that first one sharply. In the creation of a clear separation between iconography and history of art I see the precondition of any progress of art historical research for the near future.

118) ... omnis pulchritudinis forma unitas... (Epist. XVIII: Augustinus Coelestino, t. II col. 85).

119) Thus a tree constitutes a unit with its completed individual shape (de Orandin lib. II, c. XVIII, c. I, cl. 1017) and no less with its individual *anima vegetativa*, to whom it owes its development and movement (growth). In the eyes of modern mankind the tree is, however, a collective being consisting of thousands of independent organisms; and in its action it follows also not one underlying force, but thousands, which influence it in a thousand manners. While the ancient artist meant to produce unity as nature and beauty of each individual object, the modern artist fulfills exactly the same purpose in that he means to express with one-sided emphasis the collective character of the natural objects in the work of art.



with symmetrical and proportional composition of the individual parts of the building when compared with the entire building <sup>120</sup>.

Symmetry and proportion, however, are special forms of appearances of a higher universal medium in the visual arts: rhythm. The medium through which unity, that is the individual completion of the shape of the natural object within a work of art, is expressed is also according to Augustine rhythm (numerus) <sup>121</sup>. Its importance is so much emphasized and placed in the foreground by Augustine that Berthand even believed it to be the actual principle of beauty according to the ideas of Augustine; he, therefore, presented unity as a form of expression of the rhythm, while obviously the true relationship can just be the opposite one. All other characteristics of beauty in the works of the visual arts (to the symmetry and proportion already mentioned) come as a third organization and there exist special forms of expression for rhythm. There are also pertinent utterances by Augustine concerning individual remarks for certain works of art. For example, he demands that the windows of a building be either equal (rhythm of equal series) or that they, if uneven, be treated in such a manner that the window of medium size is by the same degree larger than the smaller, as it was surpassed by the largest <sup>122</sup>. Since such an increasing line is accompanied also by a decreasing one, to be imagined on the same plane, we have thus as a result a rhythm of contrast, as it can, for example, be observed in the windows of the semi-circular lunettes of the large middle Roman halls (such as the Baths of Diocletian and the Basilica of Maxentius).

This example warrants two additional remarks. First, it is remarkable that Augustine chooses his concrete examples of works of art from architecture; the figurative arts (sculpture and painting) are not entirely left out, but stand in the background. This reluctance of Augustine in

120) (*De vera religione*, c. XXX). Another dialogue about the same subject with artifacts at exactly the same place, c. XXXII, col. 148. It is characteristic that in either case the artist hesitates to respond to the question posed by Augustine; i.e. the beauty the artist is looking for in his works. Augustine wanted thus to indicate that an artist of his time generally was embarrassed by such questions. This is very understandable at a time when artistic creation is restricted by firm typical lines; at a time of the modern hyper-individualism each individual artist thinks he should write a book about his own *Kunstwollen* based on a very understandable fear that his *Kunstabsicht* would not be understood by the public with his works alone.

121) et (ratio) terram coelumque collustrans, sensit nihil aliud quam pulchritudine sibi placere, et in pulchritudine figuras, in figuris dimensiones, in dimensionibus numeros (*De Ordine*, lib. II, c. XV, col. 1014). With «*figurae*» are meant individual shapes, with «*dimensiones*» the ones which are effective on the plane (height and width). About the identity of the words numeros and rhythm: *de Ordine*, lib. II, c. XIC. col. 1014, t. I.

122) *De vera religione*, c. XXX, t. III., col. 146 and 147.

regard to the figurative arts gains a deeper importance as soon as one recalls that the development of figurative art during the following centuries was generally not a favorable one; the Semitic Near East had done away with it forever and the Greek Near East threatened it at least for a century with iconoclasm; and even in the West, the large pioneering achievements at least until the twelfth century belonged not to sculpture or painting but to architecture (and to the crafts).

Secondly, I would like to state most emphatically how the choice of the perforated (perforatis) windows in buildings reveals the change which took place in late antiquity. Aristotle would have chosen as analogous examples columns or any other material positive individual shape: Augustine, however, uses for this a de-materialized perforation. This leads now to the question how far with the doctrine of beauty Augustine, besides a general ancient basic characteristic of the visual arts of his time, also expressed the specific one for late antiquity (middle and late Roman).

This difference follows, as we showed in the monuments, the treatment of unity and rhythm. The common ancient tendency toward the perception of the individual shape is still dominant, yet, one saw through the increased spaces of the individual shape now clearer that also this needed an interval as precondition: hence, derives the emancipation of the interval, ground, and space <sup>123</sup>. Furthermore rhythm still dominates with its linear composition on the plane; but because now, besides the individual shapes, the intervals also are respected, rhythm is used also for those spacious intervals. Hence the role of art in late antiquity, in contrast to the one of classical antiquity, as well as in contrast to modern art is clearly defined: space was emancipated (different from classical antiquity which tended to refuse space) but it was formed into rhythmic intervals (in opposition to modern art which emphasize shapeless infinite deep space).

The emancipation of the intervals is now again one of the basic principles in Augustine's ethics and aesthetics, which is repeated at numerous places and helped him particularly in his fight against the Manichaeans <sup>124</sup>. It is here where among other things he demonstrated not just the right of existence, but even the necessity of ugliness and shapelessness. Evil is just a privatio of the good, the ugly is merely intervals of beauty; they are as necessary as the intervals between words in language and between tones in music. We are used to seeing evil and ugly from nearby, when

123) The beginning of this process goes far back before the time of Constantine. Very characteristic for the ancient perception is a remark by Cicero (« *De oratore* », lib. III., c. 48) about rhythm « quem in cadentibus guttis quae intervallis distinguuntur, notare possumus, in amni praecipiente non possumus ». Compare in opposition to this the modern *Kunstwollen* which seeks its satisfaction especially in the falling creek.

124) A number of those are quoted in Berthaud, pp. 44 ff.

it appears to us naturally evil and ugly. But when we see it all from a *Fernsicht* we will observe that beauty would not be possible without its complementary ugly shape, and that both together present a picture of perfect harmony<sup>125</sup>.

Among the numerous pertinent places one may be chosen here which Berthaud missed, but which is for us of special importance, because it is one of the few where Augustine uses a concrete example from the figurative arts, especially from painting: « Sicut pictura cum colore nigro, loco suo posita, ita universitas rerum, si quis possit intueri, etiam cum peccatoribus pulchra est, quamvis per se ipsos consideratos sua deformitas turpet »<sup>126</sup>.

According to this, black color is in the painted picture the same as evil is in entire mankind. Individual shapes which appear in clear materiality, that is in bright colors, are beautiful; opposite to this, black color represents shadow that is the untonchable, immaterial, the shapeless, the empty, the nonexistent element. However, if the black is put within the picture at the right place, then it has in a *fernsichtig* observation together with the brightly painted material individual shapes the effect of beauty. According to the doctrine of Augustine the function of placing it in the right place is done through the *ordo* which, according to what was said earlier, is nothing but the form of expression for the rhythm; hence, Augustine had also in painting the rhythmic distribution between black and light and shadow and light as the aim of art in mind. Augustine expects thus from painting exactly that coloristic treatment, which we have known through monuments to be an important character trait of the art of late antiquity<sup>127</sup>.

To obtain an understanding of the nature of late antique art (that is the art of the middle and late Roman period) we may study individual

125) About the relativity between beauty and ugliness and between light and shadow compare *de musica*, lib. VI, c. 13, c. I, col. 118-1184. Bright light and impenetrable shadows are disliked by men, but are the more liked by other beings.

126) *De civitate dei*, lib. XI, cap. 23 (Migne, *Patrologie der lateinischen Väter*, XLI, 336).

127) Now one also understands the analogue utterances as in *de civitate dei* XI, 18: Contrariorum oppositione saeculi pulchritudo componitur or in the case, where *ordo* is defined as pulcherrimum carmen ex quibusdam quasi antithetis. Or, also: *Epistola, Nebridio Augustinus*, t. II, col. 65: Quid est corporis pulchritudo? Congruentia partium (Rhythm of the line) cum quadam coloris suavitate (of light and dark coloring). The postulate for *Fernsicht* can be concluded from the sentence: quod horremus in parte si cum toto consideramus plurimum placet, which he demonstrates immediately by using an example from architecture: nec in aedificio iudicando unum tantum angulum considerare debemus » (*De vera religione*, c. XL). The latter would have been perhaps possible in the Greek columnar hall, where each column for itself constitutes a completed shape, but not in the early christian basilica.

monuments or the surviving literary sources. In either case, we obtain an insight of the same basic proposition: that there was in general at that time only one direction for the *Kunstwollen* to take. This force dominated all four divisions of the visual arts equally, appropriated every purpose and material to its artistic meaning (*Kunstzweck*) and with fixed independence chose in every case the appropriate technique for the envisioned work of art. There is support for this interpretation of the nature of late antique art in the fact that the *Kunstwollen* of antiquity, especially in the final phase, is practically identical with other major forms of expression of the human *Wollen* during the same period.

All such human *Wollen* is directed towards self-satisfaction in relation to the surrounding environment (in the widest sense of the word, as it relates to the human being externally and internally). Creative *Kunstwollen* regulates the relation between man and objects as we perceive them with our sense; this is how we always give shape and color to things (just as we visualize things with the *Kunstwollen* in poetry). Yet man is not just a being perceiving exclusively with his sense (passive), but also a longing (active) being. Consequently, man wants to interpret the world as it can most easily be done in accordance with his inner drive (which may change with nation, location and time). The character of this *Wollen* is always determined by what may be termed the conception of the world at a given time [*Weltanschauung*] (again in the widest sense of the term), not only in religion, philosophy, science, but also in government and law, where one or the other form of expression mentioned above usually dominates.

Obviously, an inner relation exists between a *Wollen*, which is directed toward a pleasurable visualization of things through the visual arts, and that other *Wollen* which wants to interpret them as much as possible according to its own inner drive. In antiquity this relationship can be traced everywhere. We can only sketch it now in very general terms, but this may suffice to identify another basis for our investigation of the meaning of late Roman art within the general history of civilization.

The development of the ancient' conception of the world [*Weltanschauung*] took place in three clearly distinguishable phases, which are completely parallel to the three periods of development of ancient art as outlined in the beginning. The common factor here as well is a notion of the world as composed of tactile (plastic), self-contained, individual shapes. In the earliest period, the idea prevailed that the existence and the forms of life of these individual shapes were ruled by arbitrary forces. This conception of the world was therefore necessarily aimed at a religious frame of reference in which man undertook personal and benign propitiation of those forces by persuasion. In the second period, which runs parallel with

the classical art of the Greeks, men now developed (together with a gradual change in religion toward philosophy and science) concepts of binding and logical relationships among individual phenomena. In the postulated relationship we can immediately recognize the same inclination toward establishing a relation between individual shapes shown by the art of classical antiquity.

In the surrounding world ancient man saw only individual self-contained shapes. Therefore, he conceived their interrelationship only on a mechanical level (that is the level of forces and impact). Both ancient idealistic and materialistic philosophy (atomism) are fully agreed on this point. Consequently, for these thinkers there must be a chain-like connection (leading from one individual to the next) which corresponds exactly to the rhythmic composition of the individual shapes in the contemporary plastic arts. So art was charged with selecting a few individual shapes from the in finite confusion of phenomena and connecting them in a new, clearly defined unity by arrangement in a sequence on a flat surface. In the same way, ancient science had to disentangle the knot of phenomena and to arrange them in a coherent sequence of individual shapes according to the law of causality.

The third period of antiquity deserves our special interest. Not only was the classic attempt to erect a mechanistic system of causality between individual phenomena no longer valued, but one went so far as to bring externally, individual shapes in reciprocal isolation from each other. In no way did this mean a return to a primitive disconnectedness. Instead, a mechanistic theory of connection between individual shapes no longer seemed satisfactory and was replaced with a different kind of connection — magic. The latter found expression in the entire late-pagan, early christian world in neoplatonism and in syncretic cults as well as in the beliefs of the early christian church. A correspondence of this process with the isolation of individual shapes on the visual plane is obvious in contemporary art. As done before, we must now raise the question whether this change, as conceived, is progress or decline.

The answer is the same: the change in the late antique conception of the world was a necessary transition made by the human mind in order to take it from the concept of a purely mechanistic and sequential relationship of things (as if they were projected on a plane) to one of a general chemical connection, including, as it were, space in all directions <sup>128</sup>. Anyone

128) Alchemy which was a much magic as it was chemistry constitutes certainly a direct connection between the late Roman perception of magic and the modern perception of the chemical connection between objects. Yet also the modern perception about continuous forces which are not dependent on the individuality of objects

who wishes to perceive the change in late antiquity as decline has the presumption to dictate today the route the human mind should have taken in order to move from the ancient to the modern concept of nature. Indeed, the late antique tendency toward magic was a detour. However, the necessity of this detour becomes clear as soon as one realizes that it was not the product of a specific scientific theory, but came from the abolition of a thousand-year-old notion which all antiquity held in common and which conceived the world composed of mechanistic self-contained and individual shapes. The necessary preconditions of this change were the erosion of faith in a purely mechanistic structure as much as the rise of a new, positive faith in the relationship of objects, which went beyond mechanics, but was still based on individual shapes and in that sense magic. Just when this new faith was bearing permanent fruits, the idea of a mechanistic connection (never completely forgotten by the inhabitants of the West) regained its rightful status (in the visual arts just as much as in the conception of the world). There was no longer a danger of falling back on the notion of an exclusively mechanistic connection and of unchangeable individual shapes. The notion of an extra-mechanistic connection among all things of creation had meanwhile become firmly rooted in the mind of the West, as had, to be the basic elements in art, the perception of mass composition (in place of the individuality of material shapes) and deep space (in place of a plane on which is disposed a sequence of individual shapes). The development of European culture, which occupies a leading place in the world, owes both concepts to the late Roman period <sup>129</sup>.

(for example, electricity) as well as the theory about the cells and the tissue is based on the post-antique dissolution of the individual shape into mass composition and on the perception that an object can be influenced through thousands and many thousands of other objects which are partly more distant while existing at the same moment.

129) Plan and character of this work do not permit to establish a parallel between the visual arts and the *Weltanschauung* of antiquity in all forms of expression. Just one point maybe raised here, because one finds for it numerous connections particularly in my deliberations in the chapter on «sculpture». Particularly obvious is the imagined parallel in the simultaneous rise of a explicit dualism in Greek thinking and a consideration of the psychological effects in Greek figurative art. This contradicts the ancient Near Eastern and Greek archaic period with its materialistic monism (the soul seen as a fine material) and its objective representation of the material individual shape. We just seem to see during the concluding phase of antiquity the elements of the primitive step – monism and artistic objectivity – returned: in reality they are extremes. Monism is now spiritualistic (the body as a cruder shape of the soul) and objectivity is directed towards the appearance of the psychological element (one-sided emphasis of the eye as mirror of the soul, turning of the figures in the direction of the beholder); yet, as far as the bodily appearance as such goes objectivity now searches three-dimensional appearance which needs for the perception of deep space

a stronger inclusion of the mental consciousness – replacing the two-dimensional appearance towards which the Egyptian search for objectivity was directed. What was common to the first and the third step was the irresistible search for an absolute legal norm excluding as much as possible all subjective elements; hence, the art of the first and third step was objective and anonymous and very closely connected with the cults, its contemporary *Weltanschauung* was strictly religious or more precisely appropriate for a cult. In the classical phase (which exists in between the two) we find alone subjectivity and personality present in the *Weltanschauung* among the visual arts, philosophy, and sciences (which are both subjective and personal) – the closest parallel we find for the indicated process of development for the first two steps in a survey of the history of the visual arts since Charlemagne: during the middle ages the strife exists towards isolation of the objects (now in space rather than on the ancient plane) and towards an objective norm of its (three-dimensional) appearance and also towards a close connection with the cult (which is nothing else than an objective common legal norm which produces the subjective need of the individual for religion). In more recent times, however, we find the search for a connection of the objects (in space, this can be done with the line as it was done during the sixteenth century or it can be done with light as it was done during the seventeenth century or it can be done with individual coloring as done in modern art) and for a representation of its subjective appearance as well as for a disconnection with the cult which is then replaced by philosophy and the sciences (serving as disciplines which announce the natural connection of the objects).

## ANNOTATIONS

by

ROLF WINKES

The following notes contain quotations from the manuscript of a lecture given by Riegl as part of his course at Vienna University for the summer semester of 1898. He lectured five hours per week on the subject « History of the transition from ancient to modern art » (SS 1898, *Geschichte des Übergangs von der antiken zur modernen Kunst*, 5 std.). He continued in the following semester (winter 1898/99) with a lecture course entitled « Art history of the migration period », two hours per week (WS 1898/99 *Kunstgeschichte der Völkerwanderungszeit*). Both are listed in A. Riegl, *Historische Grammatik der bildenden Künste*, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von K. M. Swoboda und O. Pächt, Graz-Köln 1966, page 18. The manuscript for the 1898 lecture and others is labeled (by Swoboda?) « Teile aus älteren Vorlesungen ». They belong to the manuscripts given by Riegl's widow to the Kunsthistorische Institut. Originally it seems to have had an introduction, the last paragraph of which is still preserved on page 20 (page numbers are written in pen, obviously by another hand), which is the first page of the surviving text. Page 99 is the last preserved page of this lecture. The subject of the lecture for the summer semester 1899 (4 hours per week) was « Historische Grammatik der bildenden Künste ». Many ideas of the 1898 lecture recur here. The final manuscript of the *Kunst-Industrie* could not be found in the Österreichische Archäologisches Institut at the time of my visit there. I presume it to be lost. I suspect that the book was begun in 1899 and that its composition continued while he was lecturing on early christian art, three hours a week (summer semester 1900). I felt that the notes for the lecture on the « Transition from ancient to modern art » are useful for modern students because they present a draft for the *Kunst-Industrie*. The manuscript is heavily annotated in the margins writing with the same pen used for the main text. Since at this time the same pen and ink were used for long periods, it is in theory impossible to decide on the exact date of the margin notations. However, since they are written for a lecture, I believe I am safe with



my assumption that they were just a few days later than the text, if not written the same day or hour. At a later point, this lecture and the following one (on the migration period) were rewritten by some other hand in a more legible form. The copyist was most likely Zimmerman. I always compared both copy and original since the copyist seems not to have been able to decipher Riegl's hand at every point. The page numbers I refer to are those of Riegl's original manuscript.

(1) Ms. p. 20: « Die spätrömische Kunst als solche hat noch niemals Bearbeitung gefunden. Es ist die letzte grosse Lücke die heute noch in der kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung klafft, und zwar wie es scheint ohne dass sich die Forscher dessen bewusst sind ». « Late Roman art as such has never been researched. It is the last large lacuna in art historical research and it seems that scholars are unaware of it.

(2) Ms. p. 20: « Den Theologen ist kein Vorwurf zu machen, wol aber den Kunsthistorikern. Seit Winckelmann schleppten wir nahezu ein Jahrhundert lang an dem Vorurteile, dass nur die klassische Antike und allenfalls die Italienische Renaissance wahrhaft genusswürdige Kunstwerke geschaffen hätten ». « The theologians cannot be accused, but the art historians can. Since Winckelmann we have been dragging along for almost a century the prejudice that only classical antiquity and at the most the Italian Renaissance art created works which were truly worthy of appreciation ».

(3) Ms. p. 20/21 (direct continuation of annotation 1): « Die Kunstgeschichte kannte bisher nur eine altchristliche Kunst, d.h. sie hielt bisher die Werke der spätrömischen Kunst bloss vom Standpunkte beachtungswert, ob sie für die Geschichte des Altchristentums von Bedeutung schienen. Es versteht sich, dass bei ein er solchen Art der Betrachtung fast nur ikonographische, literarische mit einem Worte christlich-antiquarische Gesichtspunkte massgebend sein konnten. (Sie sind bei Rossi (Katholik) wie bei Schultze (Protestant) die Hauptsache. Höchst seltene Ausnahmen: Swoboda über Polychromie der altchristlichen Skulpturwerke) ». « Up to this time art history has recognized only early christian art, that is works of late Roman were worth considering only for the history of early christianity. With such consideration it is understandable that only the iconographic, literary, christian-antiquarian viewpoint was important. (They are the central subject for Rossi (Catholic) and Schultze (Protestant), rare exception: Swoboda on the polychromy of early christian sculptural works ».

(4) Ms. p. 21: « Erst in den letzten Jahren hat man der Kunst der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit ernstlich näher zu treten versucht, und zwar von zwei Seiten her. Zuerst von der Seite der vorangegangenen Kunst der Griechen, d.h. der nachalexandrinischen Griechen der Diadochenzeit. Den ersten Anstoss hierzu hatte das Bekanntwerden mit den Ausgrabungen von Pergamon geliefert, durch die man erst zur richtigen Würdigung längst bekannter anderweitiger Antiken, Z.B. Laokoongruppe (Controversen des vorigen Jahrh., Lessing) gebracht wurde. Diese ganze nachalexandrinische griechische Antike, die sogenannte hellenistische Kunst, hat namentlich Theodor Schreiber in Leipzig zum Gegenstand des Studiums gemacht und die Resultate hauptsächlich in seiner Publikation über die beiden Grimanischen Brunnen im Wiener

Hofmuseum niedergelegt (ms. p. 22). Von der entgegengesetzten Seite, d.h. von der neueren Kunst her hat Wickhoff die Kunst der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit und insbesondere des ersten nachchristl. Jahrh. ins Auge gefasst in seiner in der gedachten Richtung vielfach bahnbrechenden Publikation der Wiener Genesis ».

« Only in recent years has an attempt been seriously made to come closer to the art of the early Roman Empire, and this from two directions. First from preceding Greek art, that is the art of the post-Alexandrian Greeks from the time of the Diadochs. This trend was stimulated by the excavations at Pergamon, because of which a proper appreciation of long known works such as the Laocoon group was achieved (Controversies of the last century, Lessing). This entire post-Alexandrian phase of antiquity, so-called hellenistic art, Theodor Schreiber in his publication of the Grimani reliefs presented the main results of his research on the reliefs. From the opposite viewpoint, that is modern art, Wickhoff looked at the art of the early Empire and particularly of the 1st century A.D. (in his publication of the *Vienna Genesis* which is in many ways a pioneering work) ».

(5) Riegl cites the phenomenon of looking at Fayoum portraits or works by Praxiteles and Attic vases, which to the beholder seem to have a closer relation than the one with portraits of the seventeenth century. He continues ms. 22: « Es liegt dies nicht an Material und Technik, denn Technik ist immer abhängig vom *Kunstwillen*: sie schafft nicht den Stil, sondern der Stil, die Kunstabsicht schafft die Technik ». « This does not depend on technique, because technique relies always on the *Kunstwollen*, it does not create the style, but the style, the artistic intention, creates technique ». As far as I can see, this is the first time he chooses a term very close to the later *Kunstwollen*. It is written in the margin. Semper is not mentioned in this context, but later in his lecture. (In the *Historische Grammatik* p. 49, 123 he expresses the same idea with the term *Kunstdrang*. The manuscript for the *Historische Grammatik* antedates the lecture by half a year. While he was finishing the manuscript for the *Historische Grammatik* he received the commission for the Kunst-Industrie). He continues in the text: « Wir müssen eben immer folgendes festhalten: Übergänge sind stets vorhanden und die ganze Kunstgeschichte als Continuum besteht sozusagen aus lauter Übergängen ». « We have thus to maintain the following, transitions always exist and the entire history of art is a continuum made entirely out of transitions ».

(6) The principles of classical art are to a large extent explained ms. p. 23-4: « *Welches sind nun diese Gesetze?* Das Ziel aller antiken Kunst war die Naturverbesserung, und zwar die körperliche. Das wurzelt in der Weltanschauung der antiken Culturvölker. Sie erkannten in den Naturerscheinungen, die ja aller bildenden Kunst der Menschheit zum notwendigen Substrat dienen, vergängliche momentane Wirkungsäusserungen ewiger Kräfte und Gewalten; diese Gewalten selbst fassten sie auch als materielle, aber als vollkommene: d.h. absolut starke, schöne und dauernde. Das drückt sich am einfachsten und klarsten in den Personifikationen aus. Z.B. der Quell ist eine vergängliche Erscheinung; aber sie verrät Bewegung, es steckt eine lebendige Kraft dahinter, ein Willen; die antike Weltanschauung vermutet daher hinter der vergänglichen Erscheinung des Quells eine ewige, vollkommene Gottheit. So erklärt sich die antike Weltanschauung jene Kräfte, deren Ursprung und Wirkung ausserhalb des menschlichen Willens liegt. Wie verhält es sich aber die bildende Kunst dazu? Die bildende Kunst ist Wettschaffen mit der Natur. D.h. der Mensch schafft Kunstwerke wie die Natur Naturwerke schafft. Da aber der antike Mensch sich der Gottheit ganz nahe und aller vergänglichen Natur unendlich überlegen glaubt, aus keinem anderen Grunde weil er mit einem vollkommenen Willen ausgestattet ist, so will

er seine Werke besser schaffen als die Natur die ihrigen. Schafft die Natur vergängliche, schwache, unvollkommene Erscheinungen, so schafft der Mensch ewige Ursachen. Das Ziel der naturverbessernden antiken Kunst ist aber wol das Wiederschaffen der Naturdinge, aber nicht in ihrer vergänglichen Naturerscheinung, sondern in ihrer wesentlichen, ewig gültigen Gestalt. So hat man gesagt: die Antike schuf die Dinge nicht wie sie in der Natur sind, sondern wie sie sein sollen: Idealismus; das ist aber nicht ganz richtig. Wie äussert sich nun diese wesentliche, ewige Gestalt? Fürs erste sucht der antike Mensch das Wesentliche ausschliesslich in der körperlichen, materiellen Form, und nicht in irgendeinem Geistigen, am wenigsten in einem passiven Gefühl. Das ist ein Haupt- und Grundgesetz, von dem immer ausgegangen werden muss: die Existenz des Geistigen kann er sich zwar nicht ganz verhehlen, aber das ist ein vergängliches: es ist es immer vergänglich und darum nicht darstellungswürdig. Das Dauernde ist immer nur der Körper. Der antike Mensch unterscheidet zwischen Willen (aktiv, siegreich, vollkommen) und Gefühle (unklar, und unbegrenzt, passiv, leidend, schwach). Den Willen hält er untrennbar verbunden mit dem Körper. Das Gefühl aber ignoriert er. Das Geistige ist also in der antiken Kunst prinzipiell nur Darstellung irgend eines Willensaffektes, aber nicht Gefühlsaffektes. Im Grunde kennt der antike Mensch den Begriff der schönen Seele in unserm Sinne nicht: wenn man sagt, die Alten hielten die schöne Seele vom schönen Körper untrennbar, so heisst schöne Seele: siegreiche Energie des Willens, nicht schönes Gefühl: Liebe im christlichen Sinne. Sie beehrten eben nur nach dem körperlich Schönen, Starken, Vollkommenen. Die Existenzberechtigung des Gefühls war bei ihnen schon deshalb sehr eingeschränkt, weil das ganze antike Leben, alles Recht und alle Sittlichkeit auf das Recht des Stärkeren basiert waren ».

« Which are now these principles? The aim of all ancient art was the improvement of nature, specifically: the physical side of nature. This is rooted in the *Weltanschauung* of ancient civilized nations. They considered the natural phenomena, which served as necessary substrate for all fine arts of humanity, as transient, momentary expressions of effects of eternal forces; the forces themselves they understood as material, yet perfect, that is absolute in strength, beauty and duration. This is expressed in simplest terms with personifications. For example, a spring is a transient phenomenon, but it reveals movement and beyond it there exists an animated force, a *Wille*, ancient *Weltanschauung* thus assumes that beyond the transient phenomenon of the spring there is an external, perfect divinity of the spring. Hence ancient *Weltanschauung* is able to explain those forces, the origin of which are beyond human *Wille*. How do the fine arts relate to this? Fine arts are in competition with nature, that is man creates art works in the same way as nature creates natural phenomena. And because ancient man believed himself to be close to divinity and in the possession of a perfect *Wille*, he wishes to create his works better than nature created hers. While nature creates transient, weak, imperfect phenomena, man creates essential, eternal, perfect, lasting, beautiful phenomena. While nature creates transient effects, man creates eternal forces. The aim of ancient art in improving nature is still the recreation of natural objects, not in their transient natural appearance, but in their essential and final form. Hence the saying: antiquity did not create objects as they naturally existed, but as they were meant to be: idealism; but this is not entirely correct. How then is this eternal and final form expressed? First, ancient man looked for essence only in bodily form and not in the mind and least of all in passive feeling. This is the main and basic principle of everything: a mental existence cannot be entirely denied, but it is transient, it is always transient and thus not worthy to be represented. What lasts, is body. Ancient man made a difference between *Wille* (active, victorious,

perfect) and feeling (unclear and without limits, passive, enduring, weak). *Wille* he considered to be inseparable from the body. Yet feeling he ignored. Thus in ancient art, mind is mainly only the representation of the effect of a *Wille*, but not of a feeling. Basically, ancient man did not know our term for the beautiful soul. If one states that the ancients considered a beautiful mind inseparable from a beautiful body, then mind means: victorious energy of *Wille*, not beautiful feeling: love in the christian sense. They desired only bodily beauty, strength, perfection. Existence of feeling was very limited among them because all ancient life, law, and morale was based on the survival of the fittest ».

(7) The title of the lecture (ms. p. 20) is « Spätromische Kunst 313-476 n.Chr. », in margin: « die Kunst im weströmischen Reiche unter der Herrschaft des Christentums » « Late Roman art 313-476 A.D. » in margin: « the art of the West Roman Empire under Christian rule ».

(8) Compare annotation 5. By virtue of the meaning of *Wollen*, *Kunstwollen* seems to require constant progress.

(9) Ms. p. 63 states it differently: « Es liegt darin, dass die Kunstgeschichte bisher das Kunstgewerbe einerseits unterschätzt, andererseits überschätzt hat. 1. Unterschätzt: man glaubte die Kunst wäre daran nur etwas Sekundäres, der praktische Zweck wäre die Hauptsache und dieser ginge allenfalls die Kulturhistoriker, aber nicht die Kunsthistoriker an. Wo Werke der sogenannten höheren Kunst vorlagen (Skulptur, oder gemalte menschliche Figur, oder Bauwerk), durfte man das Kunstgewerbe überhaupt ausser acht lassen; nur wo keine Denkmäler Zeugnis gaben, namentlich dort, wo man rein auf Gräberfunde angewiesen ist (wie z.B. in gewissen frühen griechischen Stilen) dort musste natürlich gezwungenermassen das Studium der kunstgewerblichen Fundstücke einsetzen.

2. Überschätzt: So hatte es wenigstens Gottfried Semper beabsichtigt, indem er die sogenannten technischen Künste (d.i. das Kunstgewerbe) zur Basis und zum Ausgangspunkt aller höheren Kunst erklärte. Alle Kunst beginnt nach ihm mit der technischen Bearbeitung zu rein praktischen Zweck. Die älteste Kunst wäre also überhaupt nichts anderes als Technik: ein radikal materialistischer Gedanke, der vielfach noch bis auf den heutigen Tag Anhänger zählt. Die Kunsthistoriker haben es anfangs alle geglaubt und immer wiederholt, das Kunstgewerbe wäre ein Produkt aus Material und Technik und bilde den Anfang alles Kunstschaffens. Aber eben darum überliessen sie sein Studium den Architekten, Ethnologen und sogar den Prähistorikern ».

« This is due to the fact that on one hand art history has underestimated craft, and on the other overestimated it.

1. Underestimated: one believed art to be something secondary, the practical function to be the main objective and it should concern, if at all, the historian of civilization, but not the historian of art. Where works of the so-called elevated arts existed (sculpture, painted human figures, architecture) crafts could be left out entirely: only where there existed no examples in other media, particularly if one depended on grave finds exclusively (such as certain early Greek styles) one had necessarily to include the study of pieces of craftsmanship.

2. Overestimated: so at least Gottfried Semper meant to do by declaring the so-called technical arts (that is crafts) the basis and beginning of all higher art. According to him all art begins with technical works for purely practical functions. In general art would be nothing more than technique, a radically materialistic point of view, which even nowadays still finds adherents. Initially art historians believed and repeated constantly that the crafts were a product of material and technique

and constituted the beginning of all creation in art. For that reason they left their study to the architects, ethnologists and prehistorians.

(10) Ms. p. 55: «Vom griechischen Tempel ist bekannt, dass er wesentlich Aussenbau ist. Damit hängt immer zusammen, dass kein Fenster vorkommt: das Vorhandensein eines Inneren gibt sich nach aussen keineswegs kund: jeder Tempel ist ein *Monument* des Gottes, nicht ein Wohnhaus des Gottes. Warum hat die klassische Antike die Innenarchitektur vernachlässigt? Weil sie nur flächenhaft wirken kann (man sieht nur Wände, keine Formen; macht man aber es wie die Ägypter, so gibt es keinen eigentlichen Innenraum.

Am Pantheon haben wir einen ausgesprochenen Innenraum. Das ist an sich etwas Unklassisches: Vorstufen gewiss in hellenistischer Zeit (Centralbauten in Alexandrien). Was tut der antike Baumeister (in der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit herrscht ja noch das klassische Gesetz), um den Eindruck der Gesamtform hervorzurufen? Dabei kommt ihm die Rundform, die einfache Cylinderform zur Hilfe. Der Beschauer merkt, dass er gleichmässig ringsum umschlossen ist, und beruhigt sich dabei. Er sieht zwar keine Form, sondern nur Flächen, aber alle diese Flächen schliessen sich so klar und einfach zusammen, dass man im Innern die Aussenform empfindet: Rotunde mit Kuppel, nicht mehr. Es herrscht das Gefühl vollster abgeschlossener Einheit. Das aber ist das *Raumgefühl*. Der Beschauer *sieht* nicht mehr die Form, aber er *fühlt* sie ».

«The Greek temple is known to have been essentially a building of exteriors. Connected with this is its total lack of windows: in no way is the existence of an interior revealed to the exterior: each temple is a *monument* for the god and not his house. But why did classical antiquity neglect interior architecture? This was, because it could have only effects which depended on the plane (one sees only walls, not shapes: yet, if one builds in the Egyptian manner, one does not create a real interior space).

The Pantheon is an explicit interior space. This is actually something unclassical: although there are certainly precedents in the hellenistic period (centralized buildings in Alexandria). What does the ancient architect do (in the early Empire the classical system still dominates) in order to create the effect of one entire shape? He is aided by the simple cylinder shape. The beholder recognizes that he is consistently surrounded and is thus put in a state of calm. Even though he is not able to see a shape, but just planes, all these planes join in such a clear and simple manner that one is able to experience in the interior the exterior shape: rotunda and cupola, that is all. The feeling of a complete, enclosed unit dominates. And this is the *feeling of space*. The beholder no longer *sees* the shape, but *feels* it ».

(11) Ms. p. 56: «Die schöne organische Rundung ist nicht mehr Postulat; Reaktion gegen das Organische, daher bei den Byzantinern besonders Polygonform beliebt ».

«The beautiful organic round shape is no longer postulated; reaction against the organic shape, hence the Byzantine preference of polygonal shapes ».

(12) Ms. p. 58: «Wir haben die Basilika nur auf ihre ästhetischen Merkmale zu untersuchen. Die Controversen hinsichtlich ihres Ursprungs haben uns nicht zu beschäftigen. Dass Vorbilder dafür im römischen Nutzbau vorhanden waren wird im allgemeinen zugegeben: ob nun in der forensischen Basilika, ob im gewöhnlichen Hausbau mit Atrium und Peristyl oder in anderen Typen, bleibe dahingestellt. Von frühen monumentalen Architekturtypen kommt keine der altchristlichen Basilika so nahe wie der hypäthrale ägyptische Säulensaal (Karnak) ».

«We are only concerned with the aesthetic characteristics of the basilica. The

controversies concerning its origin we do not deal with. That there existed forerunners in Roman utilitarian buildings is generally accepted: it does not concern us, whether this was the forum basilica or the plain house with atrium and peristyle or another type. Nothing comes so close among earlier monumental architectural types as the open Egyptian columnar halls in relation to the early christian basilica (Karnak).

(13) Ms. p. 58: « Der Centralbau ist der willenlosen Pflanze verwandt, und steht dem Krystallinismus der unorganischen Materie noch näher. Der Längsbau nimmt also auch hier Rücksicht auf das Geistige, wie es im Thiere schon sich äussert zum Unterschied von der Pflanze. Das christliche Culthaus soll vor allem Innerraum sein ».

« The centralized building is related to the plant, that lacks a will, and is even closer related to the crystalline form of unorganic material. In this respect the axial building takes consideration of spiritual nature, as it is also expressed in animal nature, if compared with the plant. The christian cult room is primarily meant to be an interior space ».

(14) Ms. p. 61: « Die Behandlung des *Thurmes*. Er hätte herausgefordert dazu, zur Dominante im Äusseren erhoben zu werden (und später hat man diese Herausforderung auch befolgt). Aber die altchristliche Kunst stellt den Thurm bewusstermassen bei Seite. Sie braucht ihn, aber sie vermeidet in bewusster Absicht alles, was den Thurm zum Herrn des Bauwerkes machen könnte. Er ist ein Selbstständiges, das man zwar braucht, aber dem man sich nicht beugen will. Um die Disharmonie, die er in das Gesamtbild brachte und die bei den Byzantinern unmöglich wäre, kümmerte man sich nicht. Man empfand eben ganz und gar malerisch. Und gerade dem isolierten Thurm verdanken die ältesten Basiliken hauptsächlich den malerischen Charakter ».

« The treatment of the *belfry*. It should have insisted on becoming the dominant element for the exterior (and this demand was indeed later met). Yet, early Christian art consciously places the tower aside. It needs it, but intentionally avoids anything that would make the belfry the master of the building. It is an independent element, that is needed but under which one does not wish to serve. And one does not sense the lack of harmony which the tower not to the whole composition and which was impossible in the Byzantine world. One felt the structure entirely in a painterly manner. And the early Christian basilicas owe their painterly character especially to the isolated tower.

(15) Ms. p. 60: « Im Äusseren: 1. Das Dach wird auch von der Mauer getragen, statt von vorgelegten Pilastern mit Gebälk darüber. Von dieser Anschauung ist man nie wieder abgegangen: es ist ein Punkt an dem sich besonders zeigen lässt, wie die klassische Antike unmöglich wiederkehren kann. Bald wurde man verleitet, die subjectiven Aussenflächen der Basilika in objektiver Nahsicht zu fassen: d.h. man störte sich an ihrer Nacktheit. Die objektive Fläche erscheint als Leeres das man ausfüllen muss, andernfalls man beunruhigt, peinlich berührt wird. Die subjektive Fläche wirkt nicht leer, weil man darüber immer nur die Form sieht, die Silhouette (byzantinischer Zentralbau, wie schon an der Pyramide). Wenn aber die Form als Ganzes nicht mehr unsere künstlerische Aufmerksamkeit zu fesseln vermag, widmen wir wiederum der Fläche eingehendere Aufmerksamkeit, so kommt es neuerdings zur Nahsicht. Die Extreme berühren sich ».

« In the *exterior*: Also, the roof is carried by the wall rather than by projecting pilasters with an architrave. This solution was never given up again: it is a point which serves well to demonstrate how it was impossible to repeat classical antiquity. Soon one was led to make the subjective exterior planes of the basilica appear in an

objective *Nahsicht*. The objective plane appears as a void, which needs to be filled, otherwise one is nervous and embarrassed. The subjective plane does not appear empty, because one sees above it always the shape, the silhouette (the Byzantine centralized building, as already visible in the pyramid). At the point where the plane as a whole is no longer able to catch our artistic attention, we are particularly interested in the plane, hence a renewed *Nahsicht* appears. The extremes meet ».

(16) Ms. p. 44: « Charakteristik der spätrömischen Kunst an den Denkmälern.

*Halbform* soll wieder vorangestellt sein aus Zweckmässigkeitsgründen: weil sie am ehesten datiertes Material darbieten, und weil einige Abgüsse zur Verfügung stehen. Reliefs wurden nach Konstantin noch geschaffen: mit heidnischen (mythologischen) Darstellungen durch die Heiden; aber auch christliche, wo es die Kulturgewohnheit mit sich brachte, namentlich an Sarkophagen und an Diptychen. Neue Gebiete wurden zunächst der Halbform durch das Christentum nicht erschlossen, erst später im eigentlichen Mittelalter im Abendlande beginnt eine eigentliche christliche Plastik, aber bezeichnendermassen nicht im monumentalen Steinrelief sondern im Kunstgewerblichen Elfenbeinrelief ».

« Characteristics of late Roman art according to its monuments.

*Halbform* [= « engaged shape », « semi-shape »] will be dealt with first for practical reasons: it offers, indeed, material which is the easiest to date, and there are some casts available. Reliefs were made after Constantine: those showed pagan (mythological representations) made by pagans; but also christian reliefs, where cultural conventions led to it, in particular on sarcophagi and diptychs. New areas were first not made available for the Halbform by christianity, only later in the true middle ages there begins an exclusively christian sculpture, but very remarkably not in stone reliefs of monumental size, but in the craftsmanlike ivory reliefs ».

(17) Ms. p. 50: « *Consulardiptychon des Felix* von 428 (Paris) Flavii Felicis viri clarissimi comitio ac magistri. Ganz flach behandelt, fast nur Gravierung, sogar der Eierstab am Rande ist graviert. Man sieht, der Prozess schreitet fort; ist im 4. Jahrhundert noch lange nicht am Ziel; erst im 5. Jhahr. Besonders deutlich an Vorhängen. Also eminente Fernsicht; aber dabei auch sonst Streben nach vergänglicher Erscheinung: das beweist der Kopf der mehr skizziert ist als geformt; man vergleiche ihn nur mit Monza, wo die Haare noch sorgtätig frisiert. Das Gewandmuster ist scharf eingraviert (tiefer als in Monza, und daher mehr schattenwerfend, auf noch grösserer Fernsicht). Die Beine hier schon schwebend: kein rechter Raum mehr; der Grund erscheint rehabilitiert an Stelle des Raumes. Das ist nicht so sehr Rückschauung zur Nahsicht, als Vernachlässigung des Raumes, wie des Vergänglichen überhaupt. Gewiss nicht ein Anfangen von vorne, wie bei den Egyptern. Neben der Figur darf nichts vorkommen was die Aufmerksamkeit ablenkt. Die Byzantiner haben dagegen Alles vollgestopft, und damit den Raumbegriff beseitigt. Hier bleibt der Raum, aber er wird nicht des Näheren berücksichtigt, betont ausgeführt. Das ist im Sinne des Monotheismus (wie auch die En-face-Stellung, das Fixieren des Beschauers); auch in Rom kann man die Forderungen des Monotheismus nicht ganz umgehen. Man scheut nicht das Vergängliche, und gibt es wo es sich von selbst eingestellt; aber man sucht es nicht auf, zerrt es nicht herbei, wie die frühere kaiserrömische Antike es getan hatte ».

« *Consular diptych of Felix* of 428 (Paris) Flavii Felicis viri clarissimi comitio ac magistri. Treated in an entirely flat manner, almost exclusively engraving: even the egg and dart on the border is engraved; it has in the 4th century not yet reached by any means its goal; only in the 5th century. This is particularly obvious in the curtains. Hence an eminent *Fernsicht* treatment; yet, there is also otherwise a striving

toward a transitionary appearance: proof of this is the head, which is rather sketched than sculpted; one may just compare it with Monza, the hair is still carefully rendered. The pattern of the drapery appears to be sharply engraved (deeper than Monza, hence casting more shadows, but in even greater *Fernsicht*). Here the legs already seem to float; no longer actual space; the ground appears to be rehabilitated in place of the space. This, however, is not so much looking back to *Nahsicht* but rather neglect of space, of anything that is transitionary. Certainly not a new beginning as it was the case among the Egyptians. Beside the figure is nothing permitted that would distract the attention. The Byzantines, however, crowded everything and abolished thus the concept of space. Here space is maintained, but it is not considered in particular and emphasized. This corresponds with monotheism (inasmuch as the *en face* position does, the fixation of the beholder); even in Rome one cannot entirely avoid monotheism. One avoids what is transitionary and permits it, where it appears by itself; but one does not search for it as was done earlier in the Roman Empire ».

(18) Ms. pp. 50/51: « *Consulardiptychon des Anastasius von 517*, Konstantinopler Consul, also byzantinisch; (in Berlin befindlich). Flavius An. Paulus Probus Sav. Pompejus An. Der Consul im Momente des Mappa-Werfens bei den Spielen. – Reiche Ausfüllung des Grundes: Composition des Ganzen reich, aber doch klar. Die Hauptfigur *en face*, mit unharmonisch grossen Augen (auf weltliche Personen wird die Harmonie nicht so weit erstreckt als auf göttliche?) Auch aus fernsichtiger Absicht? Tiefe Augenstern-Höhlen. Aber in der Hauptfigur schon viel Annäherung an *Nahsicht*: Die Falten werden nicht mehr graviert, sondern *flach gelegt*: beherrscht die ganze nächste Entwicklung, plastisch, aber flach gequetscht. Auf die Falten wird überhaupt noch weniger Gewicht gelegt, steife brettartige Hüllen.

Aber die Haupthaare des Consuls sind frisiert. Dagegen sind die kleinen Figuren noch recht skizzenhaft fernsichtig: auch viel Gravierung daran. Die Composition im Ganzen ist aber nahsichtig: über statt hinter einander, ziemlich symmetrisch. Das Ornament ist noch viel graviert, daneben tritt aber auch schon wieder Plastisches auf. Wir bemerken hier eine Entwicklung von 517: die Rückstauung die wir an der Madonna des 5. Jahrh. beobachtet hatten, wird nun fortgesetzt ».

« *Consular diptych of Anastasius from 517*, consul in Constantinople, hence Byzantine; (in Berlin). Flavius An. Paulus Sav. Pompejus An. The consul is shown throwing the *mappa* on the occasion of the games. Abundant filling of the ground: composition of the whole rich, yet clear. The main figure *en face* with eyes that are inharmoniously large (for worldly figures the harmony is not extended to the degree as it is done for divine figures?) Also based on *fernsichtig* intent? Deep hollows for the irises. Yet, in the main figure already a closeness to the *Nahsicht*: the folds are no longer engraved but *placed flatly*: dominates the entire following development in a plastic manner but very flattened. The folds will be even less considered, stiff, board-like covers.

Yet the hair of the consul appears to be arranged. In opposite to this the small figures are sketch-like and *fernsichtig*: here also a lot of engraving. Yet, the composition as a whole is *nahsichtig*: above rather than behind, rather symmetrical. Ornament still a lot engraved, yet, beside it appears an occasional plasticity. We observe here the development of 517: what was observed to be held back in the Madonna of the 5th century is here progressing ».

(19) Ms. p. 45: « Gegenüberstellung eines heidnischen und eines christlichen Diptychons. *Symmachorum* in South Kensington Museum (dazu *Nicomachorum* auch mit heidnischen Darstellungen, im Hotel Cluny). Die *Symmachi* sind eine jener Patrizierfamilien die am längsten in Rom am Heidentum festhielten (noch unter



Theodosius), also bis gegen Endes des 4. Jahrh.; erst seit Alarich's Zug verliert das Heidentum alle Bedeutung in Rom, wo man die Grösse des Reiches mit den heidnischen Göttern in unlösbarer Verbindung brachte- begreiflicher Lokalpatriotismus). *Allgemeines*: Trennung von Innenfeld und Bordüre (absolute Geschlossenheit), in der Bordüre mit Lotus-Palmettenreihe Beobachtung der Ecklösungen, also auch tektonische Tendenz, Subordination. *Darstellung*: bekränzte weibliche Figur ein heidnisches Opfer darbringend (auf der Ara ein Feuer in das sie Weihrauchkörnchen wirft), ein bekränztes Mädchen assistiert mit Schale (mit) Früchten und mit Kantharos worin wahrscheinlich Wein; dahinter ein füllender Baum. Viel Grund (Respiration) der zugleich Raum ist. Auch Subordination des Grundes unter das Muster. Der Stil ist im übrigen ähnlich wie wir ihn an den Grimanischen Reliefs beobachteten. Deckung: von Mädchen und Baum, aber das Wesentliche von beiden ist noch immer sichtbar; aber auch Hinausgreifen der weiblichen Figur (mit Füßen und Gewandzipfel) in die Bordüre. Auch das Baumlaub ist malerisch behandelt (die ... blätter decken z. Th. einander, aber die einzelnen Zweige sind doch ziemlich klar auseinandergehalten. Auffällige Verkürzungen vermieden. Figuren im Profil: die Ara allerdings übereck, was allerdings allein schon beweist, dass nicht auf nächste Nahsicht berechnet; auch die Kränze und Bänder nicht durchwegs plastische, sondern z. Th. eingraviert; das ist gewiss gegen die Nahsicht. Am wichtigsten ist aber die Gewandbehandlung. Die Falten sind plastisch herausgearbeitet, wenigstens zum grössten Teil, darin erinnern sie unmittelbar an die klassische attische Zeit. Überhaupt verrät auch das archaische Bordürenmuster ein bewusstes Zurückgehen auf hellenische Muster, wie es bei diesen Spätheiden sich durch ihren bewussten Gegensatz zum Christentum wol erklären liesse. Gegen die Grimanischen Reliefs ist eher ein Rückschritt zur Nahsicht zu verzeichnen, Das Gewand fast völlig in Falten verarbeitet (wie die Säulen des Peripteros), die zwischen sich tiefe dunkelschattige Höhlungen zeigen, aber jede für sich plastisch, in Nahsicht gearbeitet sind. Auch die Lotus-Palmettenreihe in der Bordüre ist plastisch herausgearbeitet. Gerade daran sieht man, wie die polytheistische Kunst, gewisse Postulate des Klassizismus nicht lassen wollte (Falten!).

Ms. 45a: Berliner Diptychon, 1 Tafel mit *Madonna mit dem Kind und 2 Engeln* (Arund. Soc. IIIb) Ö, Mus. 14a (Auf der 2. Tafel Christus zwischen Petrus und Paulus). Von Didron und F. X. Kraus für eine Fälschung gehalten, aber zweifellos echt. Bode und Tschudi fanden eine Verwandtschaft mit der Kathedra des Maximian in Ravenna (1. Hälfte des 6. Jahrh.) und halten sie daher für römische Arbeit des 6. Jahrh. Ich schicke voraus dass sie byzantinisch ist, aber aus vorjustinianischer Zeit, wo die Entwicklung noch nicht so scharf vom Abendländischen-Römischen abgeführt hat. Beschreibung: auf reich verziertem Thron sitzende Madonna en face, auf dem Schosse der segnende Christusknabe en face, rechts und links je 1 Engel in Dreiviertelprofil, darüber ein Segmentbogen mit Muschel gefüllt und von 2 Säulen getragen von denen nur das Kapitäl sichtbar; Vorhang in Ringen an einer Querstange zwischen den Kapitälern laufend, bildet zeremoniösen Hintergrund für die Madonna. In den Bogen- zwickeln Halbfiguren von Sonne und Mond.

*Elemente des Fortschrittes zur Fernsicht, zur vergänglichen organischen Erscheinung.*

1. Keine klare Bordüre mehr zur Abschliessung des Innenfeldes, nur glatter Rand, unten fehlt sogar dieser, aber vielleicht abgeschnitten.

2. Im Einzelnen: A. Verkürzungen direkt aufgesucht (also *Linienperspektive*).

a. in der En-face-Bildung der Köpfe (namentlich Madonna und Kind); zum bezeichnenden Unterschiede gegenüber den Profilköpfen auf Symmachorum.

b. in der Kniebildung, namentlich am linken Bein der Madonna.

c. im Kopftuch der Madonna.

Ms. p. 45b: B. Auch Anwendung des zweiten Mittels der Fernsicht: des Schattens. Hiermit gelangen wir zum charakteristischen Merkmal: der Faltenbildung. Die Falten sind nicht mehr rundlich greifbar herausgearbeitet, sondern sie sind flach und durch gravierte Furchen geschieden. Sah man früher vor allem die beleuchteten Falten, so sieht man jetzt vor allem die beschatteten Furchen dazwischen. (*in margin*: Am besten die Tafel schräg von unten zu betrachten und so mit *Symmachorum* zu vergleichen).

Konnte man die Falten in *Symmachorum* *tasten*, so kann man sie hier nur sehen: Die Aufnahme ist eine optische, also eine feinsichtige geworden. Die Plastik ist malerischer geworden, die Falten sind wieder in der Nähe Flächen; erst bei optischer Fernsichtbetrachtung sind sie plastische Rundungen. Analog sind auch die plastischen Ornamente zum grössten Teile in die Fläche eingraviert.

Hier gleich ein Überblick über die Gesamtentwicklung einzuschalten. . . .

Ms. p. 46: . . . *Elemente des Rückschritts zur Nahsicht*.

1. Sowol die Linienperspektive als den Schatten sahen wir im Detail zu Gunsten der Fernsicht verwendet. In der Composition im allgemeinen treten beide zurück. Wir haben Figuren auf 4 Plänen, aber alle sind sie behandelt, als ob sie sämtlich im Vordergrund stünden. Weder verschieben sich die Linien nach rückwärts (die Engel kleben auf der Madonna), noch wird durch Abstufung des Reliefs ein stärkerer Schatten im Vordergrund erzeugt. Die ältere römische Kunst hätte die Gründe durch verschiedene Höhe des Reliefs scharf geschieden: Vordergrund, Mittelgrund, Hintergrund. Hier ist alles *Vordergrund*: perspektivlos, schattenlos. Wieder haben wir eine Berührung mit den Egyptern, die auch nur *einen* Grund also einen Vordergrund kannten; aber bei diesen war es ebener Grund, nicht Raum, sie kannten keine Deckungen. Das Diptychon hat dagegen Raum zur notwendigen Voraussetzung; aber es vernachlässigt seine genaue Wiedergabe in der Kunst, denn es ist ein Vergängliches. Man sieht schon: der Monotheismus macht sich in diesem Falle mit seinem Einflusse geltend. Der Raum ist einmal da wie die organische Materie, und man kann ihn nicht mehr ausseracht lassen ».

« Comparison between a pagan and a christian diptych. *Symmachorum* in South Kensington Museum (to it belongs related *Nicomachorum* also with pagan representations in the Hotel Cluny). The *Symmachi* are one of those patrician families that remained pagan to the very last in Rome (still under Theodosius), i.e.; to the end of the 4th cent.; only with the invasion of Alarich paganism entirely loses its importance in Rome where one saw the greatness of the Empire and pagan gods as one insolvable unit – an understandable local patriotism. *Generally*: separation of the central field and the border (absolute encloseness), on the border which carries lotus-palmette rows in the corner folds are observed, hence a tectonic tendency, subordination. *Representation*: female figure who carries a wreath performs a pagan sacrifice (on the *Ara* there is a fire into which she throws kernels of incense), a little girl with a wreath assists her and holds a bowl (with) fruit and a cantharos which probably contains wine. Lots of abundant ground (respiration) which is at the same time space. Also subordination of the ground under the pattern. The style is similar as the one observed in the Grimani reliefs. Overlap: girl and tree, but they are both fully visible; yet also expansion of the female figure (with feet and end of garment) into the border area.

Also the foliage is treated in a painterly manner (the leaves partly cover one another but the individual branches appear to be clearly separated. Obvious foreshortening is avoided. Figures are rendered in profile, the *Ara*, however, in cornerview

perspective which already shows that it is not meant to be seen in a close *Nahsicht*. Most important is the treatment of the drapery. The folds appear with plasticity, at least for a great part in that they remind us of the classical period in Attica. Generally the archaic pattern on the border shows a conscious quotation of Greek pattern, as it can be understood in the case of a late pagan who consciously opposes christianity. In relation to the Grimani reliefs one can observe rather a move backward to the *Nahsicht*. The drapery is rendered entirely as folds (like the columns of a peripteral temple), which have in between deep shadowy hollows, but each is rendered in a plastic manner, in *Nahsicht*. Also the row of lotus and palmettes on the border is done in a plastic manner. Especially here one can recognize how the polytheistic art did not wish to give up particular postulate of classicising art (folds!) Diptych in Berlin. 1 half with Madonna and child and angels (Arund. Soc. IIIb) O. Mus. 14a (On the second half is Christ between Peter and Paul) Didron and F.X. Kraus considered it to be a forgery, but it is certainly not one. Bode and Tschudi saw a relationship with the cathedral of Maximian in Ravenna (first half of the 6th cent.) and consider it therefore for a Roman work of the 6th cent. I say in advance that it is Byzantine, but belonging to the time before Justinian, when the development was not yet so separated from the occidental Roman development. Description: on a richly decorated throne sits the Madonna *enface*, to her right and left one angel each in three quarter profile, above a segment of an arch with a conche carried by two columns of which only the two capitals are visible; curtain with rings holding a rod in between the capitals, which constitutes the ceremonial background for the Madonna. In the corners half figures of moon and sun.

*Elements of progression toward Fernsicht, toward the transitionary organic appearance.*

1. No clear border to outline the interior field, just a flat frame which is below even missing, but was perhaps there cut off.
2. In particular: A. Foreshortenings are directly executed (also linear perspective).
  - a. in en face rendering of the heads (especially Madonna and child: a particular difference if compared with the profile heads of the Symmachorum diptych.
  - b. in the rendering of the knee, particularly of the left leg of the Madonna.
  - c. in the veil of the Madonna.

Ms. p. 45b: Also the application of the second means for *Fernsicht*: the shadow. With this we have reached the most characteristic element: the shaping of the folds. The folds are no longer made round and tactile, but flat and separated by engraved furrows. If one earlier saw especially highlighted folds, now one recognizes especially the shadowy furrows separating them (*in margin*: the best sight point, if one looks at the diptych at an angle from below and compares it in this manner with the Symmachorum).

While one was able to touch the folds in the Symmachorum, one can here just see them: the perception is an optical one, that is *fernsichtig*. The plasticity is painterly; but from an optical *Fernsicht* they appear as plastic rounds. By analogy the plastic ornaments are mostly engraved as well. Here insert right away a survey of the entire one should development . . .

Ms. p. 46: *Elements of regression to Nahsicht*

1. In linear perspective as well as in the shadow we saw in detail favor given to *Fernsicht*. Generally they occupy the background in compositions. We have figures on four planes, but all are treated as if in the foreground. The lines are not moving into the background (the angels appear pasted on the Madonna) nor is a stronger

shadow in the foreground created through a gradation of the relief. Earlier Roman art would have separated the planes sharply through various heights of the reliefs; foreground, middle ground, background. Here everything is *foreground*: without perspective and shadow. Again a connection with the Egyptians, who however know just one *single* foreground; but there it was a flat ground, not space. They did not know overlaps. A necessary condition for the diptych, however, is space; but it neglects its exact reproduction in art, because it is transient. Here one can already recognize: the monotheism is in this particular case recognizable with its influence. Space is here like an organic material, and one can no longer ignore it.

(20) Ms. p. 61: « *Riss* Mosaiken, sehr geeignet diejenigen im tonnengewölbten Umgang von Sta Costanza, Grabmal der Constantine, Tochter des Kaiser Konstantins † 354 Baulich interessant als Massenbauversuch im Centralbau, mit Oberlichtung. Datierung um die Mitte des 4. Jahrh.

Ms. p. 62: 1 und 2 meisten abgeschlossen. In der Mitte ein Brustbild, an Seiten Weinleseszenen, dazwischen Ranken die zwar nicht in auffälliger Symmetrie verlaufen aber aus den Ecken entspringen. Ihre Dichtigkeit lässt sie als uniformen Grund für das Mittelmedaillon erscheinen, im Sinne des byzantinischen Centralbaues. Teilung in Kreise zweierlei Grösse und Polygone, gefüllt mit Figuren, wenig Ornamenten. Im Ganzen kein tektonischer Geist, aber im Einzelnen. Die Ränder schneiden überall brutal ab. Also keine rechte Abgeschlossenheit. Unendlicher Rapport, der ins Unendliche fortsetzt und doch abschliesst, ist bei figuralen Füllungen nicht möglich; nur bei pflanzlichen. Der Mangel an tektonischer Einteilung und die brutalen Abschnitte beweisen, dass die Füllung als Ganzes gesehen sein wollte, d.h. in *Fernsicht*. Coordination der Motive. Auch das Detail zeigt noch kaiserrömische Behandlung: belebende Lichter und keine streng abgrenzenden Conturen, nicht plastisch-linear, sondern malerisch-beleuchtet ».

« *Design* mosaics, most useful those from the barrel vaulted ambulatory of St. Constanza, mausoleum of Constantina, daughter of the emperor Constantine † 354. Architecturally interesting as an attempt of a massive building within a centralized structure and with light from above. Dated around the middle of the fourth century. 1 and 2 are nearly finished. In the center a bust, on the side scenes with the representations of wine harvesting, in between tendrils, which do not run in an obvious symmetry, but grow from the corners. Their density lets them appear as uniform ground for the central medaillon as is the case also in the Byzantine centralized building. The circle is divided into two unequal parts and polygonals, filled with figures and a few ornaments. The edges are cut off sharply everywhere. Hence it does not have a true closed appearance. Infinite rapport continued infinitely and yet closed is not possible here among figurative filling elements; only among vegetative ones. The lack of tectonic division and the sharp cuts demonstrate that the fillings wish to be considered a whole, that is in *Fernsicht*. Coordination of the motives. Also the details still show Roman imperial treatment; enlivening lights and sharp contours, not plastic-linear, but illuminated in a painterly manner ».

(21) Immediately following the discussion of the mosaics Riegl writes

Ms. p. 63: « *Spät Römisches Kunstgewerbe*

Kunstgewerbe ist die anorganische Materie zu Gebrauchszwecken und zu Schmückungszwecken: also dasselbe was der Baukunst zu Grunde liegt. Der Vorstellungszweck kann freilich in sekundärer Linie dazukommen: z.B. Lotusornament, oder eine Kreuzfigur als christliches Symbol. Von Haus aus ist alles Kunstgewerbe krystallinisch, aber frühzeitiger als beim Bauwerk wurde im Kunstgewerbe die organische Rundung zur Anwendung gebracht. Endlich ist es beim Kunstgewerbe

auch zur direkten Verwendung organischer Motive gekommen. Schon bei den Egyptern begegnet das: z.B. ein Löffelgriff in Form einer menschlichen Figur, oder in Form eines Bündels von Lotusblumen ».

« *Late Roman crafts* »

Crafts are the inorganic material for practical and decorative purposes. An intent to evoke imagination may be added to this as secondary purpose: for example, the lotus ornament or the figure of a cross as a christian symbol. Originally all crafts are crystalline, but earlier than in architecture the organic roundness was used here. Finally in the crafts one used the organic motives directly. We see this already among the Egyptians: for example, the handle of a spoon in the shape of a human figure or in the shape of a bunch of lotus blossoms ».

(22) Ms. p. 65: « *Keilschnittbronzen* »

Was ist Keilschnitt? Zur Demonstration benütze ich eine Schnalle im naturhistorischen Hofmuseum, angeblich zu Raab gefunden in Ungarn (Pannonien) . . . .

Ms. p. 66: . . . *Form oder Fläche?* Fläche. Also Halbform oder Riss? Es sieht aus wie Relief, weil es in Licht und Schatten wirkt, also die Teile in verschiedenen Flächen liegen. Bei einem Relief fragen wir sofort: was ist das Muster und was ist Grund? Da kommen wir in Verlegenheit. Wir finden keinen Grund.

Ms. p. 67: Das Relief ist auf so eigentümliche, früher niemals dagewesene technische Weise hervorbebracht, dass jeder flach zurückliegende Grund vermieden erscheint. Wir haben lauter dreieckige Erhebungen (im Querschnitt); aber sie heben sich nicht vom einem flachen Grund ab, sondern wo eine Senkung den tiefsten Grund erreicht, steigt sofort daneben die nächste Hebung an. Die ganze Fläche zerfällt in lauter schiefe Ebenen, die Berge und Täler bilden. Das eigentliche Relief bildet also nur lineare Grate, der eigentliche Grund bloss lineare Furchen. Diese eigentümliche Technik, die der klassischen Kunst ganz unbekannt war, nennen wir *Keilschnitt*, weil sie keilförmige Furchen in das Bronzeblech schneidet. Das Werkzeug ist der Stichel (dem vielleicht durch Giessen vorgearbeitet war). Das klärt alles auf: es ist ein Gravieren, aber ein sehr tiefes Gravieren, so dass kein erhabener Grund mehr stehen bleibt zwischen den einzelnen gravierten Zügen. – Das Nächste verwandte bildet auch hier wieder die altägyptische Kunst: das Relief en creux, das auch den Begriff des Grundes, der zum Raum führt, vermeiden will. Also Relief oder Riss ohne Grund! Das widerspricht allen klassischen Begriffen: wonach das Muster sich wöllig klar vom Grunde scheiden soll, ob es nun geformt oder gerissen ist. Kein Relief und keine gravierte Zeichnung ohne Grund ».

« *Notched bronzes* »

What is the notch? In order to demonstrate this I use here a buckle in the Imperial Museum of Natural History, which was presumably found in Raab, Hungary, (Pannonia) . . . . . Shape of plane? Plane. Hence half shape or design? It looks like a relief, because it has light and shadow effects, so that the parts are located on different planes. In the case of a relief we ask immediately: what is pattern and what is ground.

The relief was created in such a particular and entirely new technique, that any flat ground appears to be avoided. We seem to have sheer triangular elevations (in a cross section), but they do not rise from a flat ground. Rather, where a valley has reached its deepest point, there immediately rises the next elevation. Hence the entire plane is divided into slanted levels which create mountains and valleys. The actual relief therefore appears to be linear ridges, the actual ground just linear furrows. This particular technique, unknown to classical art, we call *notch*. because it cuts notch shaped furrows into the sheet of bronze. The graver is the tool (even though

the group may have been prepared through casting). This explains everything: it is engraving, but very deep so that it leaves no ground between the individual engraved lines. Egyptian art is closest to this: the relief *en creux*, which also wishes to avoid the term ground, that lead to the term space. That means relief or design without ground! It contradicts all classical terms: there patterns are separated clearly from the ground, whether shaped or designed. No relief and no engraved design without ground ».

(23) Ms. p. 77: of interest especially for footnote no 79, the following appears to be crossed out by Riegl: « Also sieht man schon von vornherein, die Zusammensetzung dieser Moorfunde beweist schon, dass sie für die Frage nach der Herkunft der mittelalterlichen Kunst von höchster Bedeutung sind ». –

« Hence one can see right away that the character of those finds from the swamps are of greatest importance for our question concerning the origin of medieval art ».

(24) Ms. p. 73: « Insofern sind Keilschnittbronzen *stilistisch* in der spätrömischen Kunst untergebracht, wenn auch freilich nicht in der klassischen. Das sind nur innere Kriterien ».

« Insofar as notched bronzes belong to late Roman art, even though not in classical. However, these are just internal criteria ».

(25) Ms. p. 73: « ... die Technik ist nur Mittel zum Zweck. Die Absicht auf den nordischen Keilschnittbronzen ist sozusagen eine plastische: möglichst scharfe Wiedergabe eines ganz bestimmten geometrischen Ornaments, nicht eine koloristische (die die raffinierteste ist, den Barbaren an sich nicht zuzutrauen). Es sind hier immer nur dreieckige oder viereckige Einschnitte isoliert, und zu Reihen zusammengestellt ».

« ... technique is only the medium for the intent. The intent of the northern notched bronzes is so to say a sculptural one: as much a possible a clear representation of a very particular ornament, and not a coloristic one (which is the most cunning, not to be expected among the Barbarians) Just triangular and quadrangular isolated insections appear in a single file ».

(26) Ms. p. 74: « Noch einmal auf die Totenschuhe zurück zu kommen. Hier ist allerdings die Kunstabsicht eine koloristische. Wie kommt das, dass diese nun erst so spät in karolingischer Zeit auftaucht, wo der römische Keilschnitt gar nicht mehr in Gebrauch stand? (während gleichzeitig mit römischen Keilschnittbronzen der germanische Kerbschnitt ein anderer gewesen ist?) Es braucht eben nicht nach römischen Keilschnittbronzen kopiert zu sein. Sondern ich glaube: Übertragung aus Intarsien- auch die Steinintarsien ist spät für die Technik, da die sich aber bis nahe an die karolingische Zeit hin findet. Schaut man die Schuhe an, so sind es Vogelköpfe (haben als Krönungen gedient von Pflöcken, Thronsesseln oder dgl.). Wir kennen Schmucksachen mit solchen Vogelköpfen aus dem Childerich-Grabfund (481) in Steinintarsien. Die Stege aus Gold, die Füllung dazwischen aus Granaten ».

« Again, we must turn to the shoes of the deceased. Here, indeed, the *Kunstabsicht* is coloristic. How come it appears so late in the Carolingian period when the Roman notch was no longer used? (While there existed at the same time as the Roman notched bronzes the Germanic wedge in wood?) This indeed does not have to be copied from Roman bronzes. However, I believe: that this was transferred from intarsia and stone intarsia is late for the technique which continues to exist until the Carolingian period. If one looks at the shoes, then they appear to be bird-heads (they may have crowned poles or thrones or the like). We know such kinds of jewelry from the Childerich find (481) in stone intarsia. The ridges are made in gold, the fillings are garnets ».

(27) Ms. p. 91: « Diese Fragen sind alle schon beantwortet worden, aber in verschiedener Weise. Wir müssen diese Hypothesen wenigstens in der Hauptsache kennen lernen.

Die Litteratur ist eine sehr grosse; leider ist sie zum grössten Teile von Dilettanten bestritten. Man erkennt schon daraus, dass das Thema für eine zurüchhaltende besonnene Forschung bisher nicht hinreichend reif erschienen ist. Verhältnismässig am wenigsten hat sich die deutsche Forschung beteiligt; dagegen in ausserordentlichen Masse die Franzosen, dann namentlich Russen und Ungarn. Für die Nordländer hat diese Frage weniger Wichtigkeit; die Steinintarsia ist ihnen zwar zugekommen, hat aber bei ihnen niemals eine grössere Rolle gespielt. In sekundärer Linie haben sich auch Spanier und Italiener an der Diskussion beteiligt. Den Ausgangspunkt bildet auch her der Abbe *Cochet*. Für seine Stellungnahme ist wichtig anzumerken, dass er die grossen osteuropäischen Funde einschlägiger Art noch so gut wie nicht gekannt hat. Unter solchen Umständen könnte sein Calcül nicht anders lauten als folgendermassen: Die Goldsachen mit Granatschmuck sind nicht klassisch; sie treten in Frankreich nachweislich zuerst im Grabe eines Frankenkönigs auf: ergo sind sie mit den Franken ins Land gekommen. Ihr Ursprung liegt also dort, wo der Ursprung der Franken: östlich vom Rhein, im heutigen Deutschland.

Ms. p. 92: Sich noch weiter auf zeitliche und Ursprungsfragen einzulassen, sah er kein hinreichendes Material vorhanden. Das Wesentliche ist: den Ursprung sucht er bei den germanischen, barbarischen Völkern.

Einen Wendepunkt bezeichnet er die Pariser Weltausstellung von 1867. Sie brachte den grossen Fund von Petrossa in Rumänien zur Kenntnis der gebildeten Nationen: Dadurch wurde man auch auf andere osteuropäische Funde ähnlicher Art aufmerksam. Die Folgerung daraus wurde von zwei französischen Forschern gezogen, aber in durchaus verschiedener Weise. Riegl, thereafter, discusses Labarte, Lasteyrie and finally he moves to the discussion of the work of Charles de Linas, « der gelehrteste von allen ».

« These questions have all been answered, but in a different manner. We must learn the main hypotheses.

The literature is quite large; unfortunately mostly written by dilettantes. From this one sees that the theme was not yet mature for cautious scholarship. Relatively the fewest contributions are from German scholars; a great deal, however, are from the French, then the Russians and the Hungarians. For the northern scholars the question is not important; they deal with stone intarsia but not in a significant way. In a secondary manner the Spaniards and Italians dealt with the question also. Here one finds first Abbe *Cochet*. Concerning his opinion it is important to observe that he did not know at all about the large number of pertinent East European finds yet. Hence his calculations could not be other than the following: the gold jewelry with garnet decorations are not classical; they appear first in France in the tomb of a Frankish king; hence they came to the country with the Franks. Their origin is where the origin of the Franks belongs: to the east of the Rhine, the present day Germany.

He did not have enough material to deal more than that with problems of date and origin. Essentially he sees the origin among the Germanic, barbaric peoples.

A turning point was the World Exhibit of 1867 in Paris. It brought to the attention of the scholarly nations the large find from Petrossa in Hungary. Hence one was made aware of other East European finds of similar nature. Conclusions were drawn by two French scholars but in an entirely different manner. See end of German quote.

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## GLOSSARY

*Baukunst*, architecture

*Bauwerk*, an architectural monument, the term is used as contrast to *Bildwerk*

*Bildwerk*, a sculptural or painted monument, the term is used as contrast to *Bauwerk*

*Fernsicht*, adj. *fernsichtig*, view from a distance, the position of the beholder in a greater than normal distance

*haptisch*, tactile, used in contrast to *optisch*

*Kunstabsicht*, artistic intent

*Kunstdrang*, artistic urge, the urge toward a particular artistic expression

*Kunstvolk*, a particular nation or particular peoples producing their particular art and architecture

*Kunstwollen*, internal and external force producing art, artistic will, artistic urge, artistic desire

*Kunstzweck*, artistic purpose

*Nahsicht* adj. *nahsichtig*, view from nearby, the position of the beholder from a closer than normal distance

*Normalsicht*, adj. *normalsichtig*, the normal position of the beholder, view from a normal distance

*optisch*, optical, used in contrast to *haptisch*

*Volkskunst*, popular art as seen versus the fine arts

*Weltanschauung*, (philosophical) conception of the world, world outlook, views

*Wille*, will

*Wollen*, will, inner and outer force, urge, desire, a stronger term than *Wille*.



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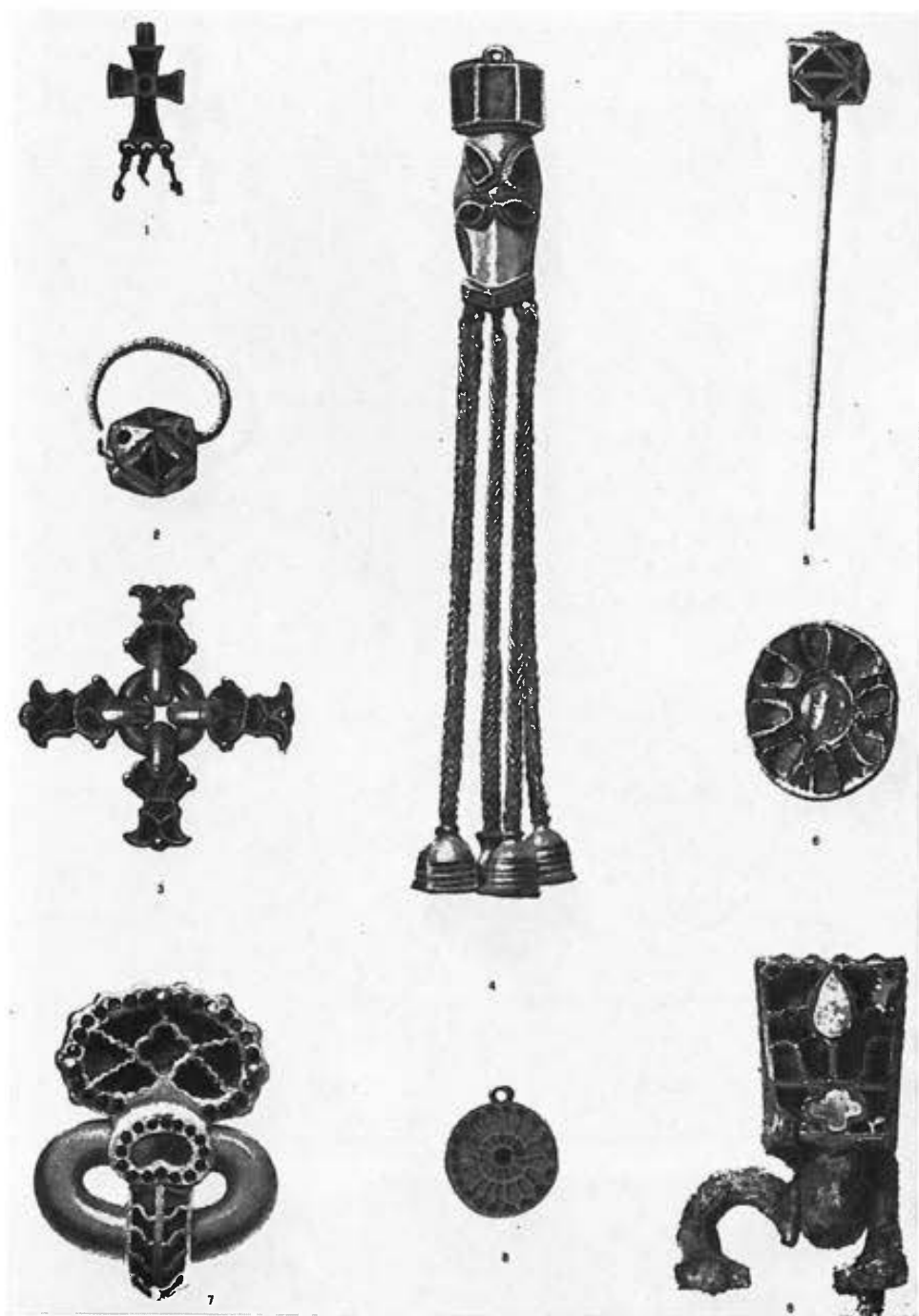
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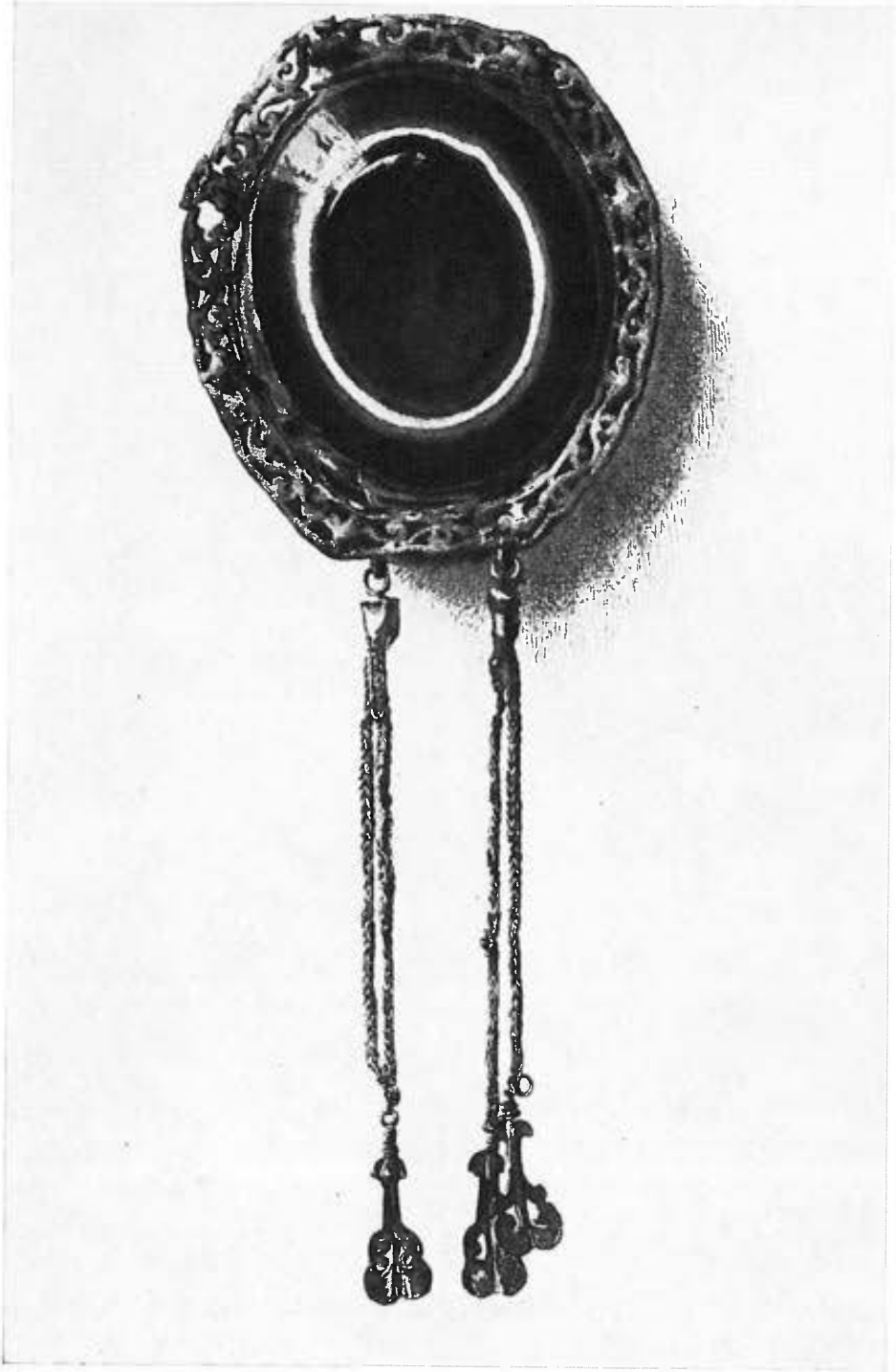
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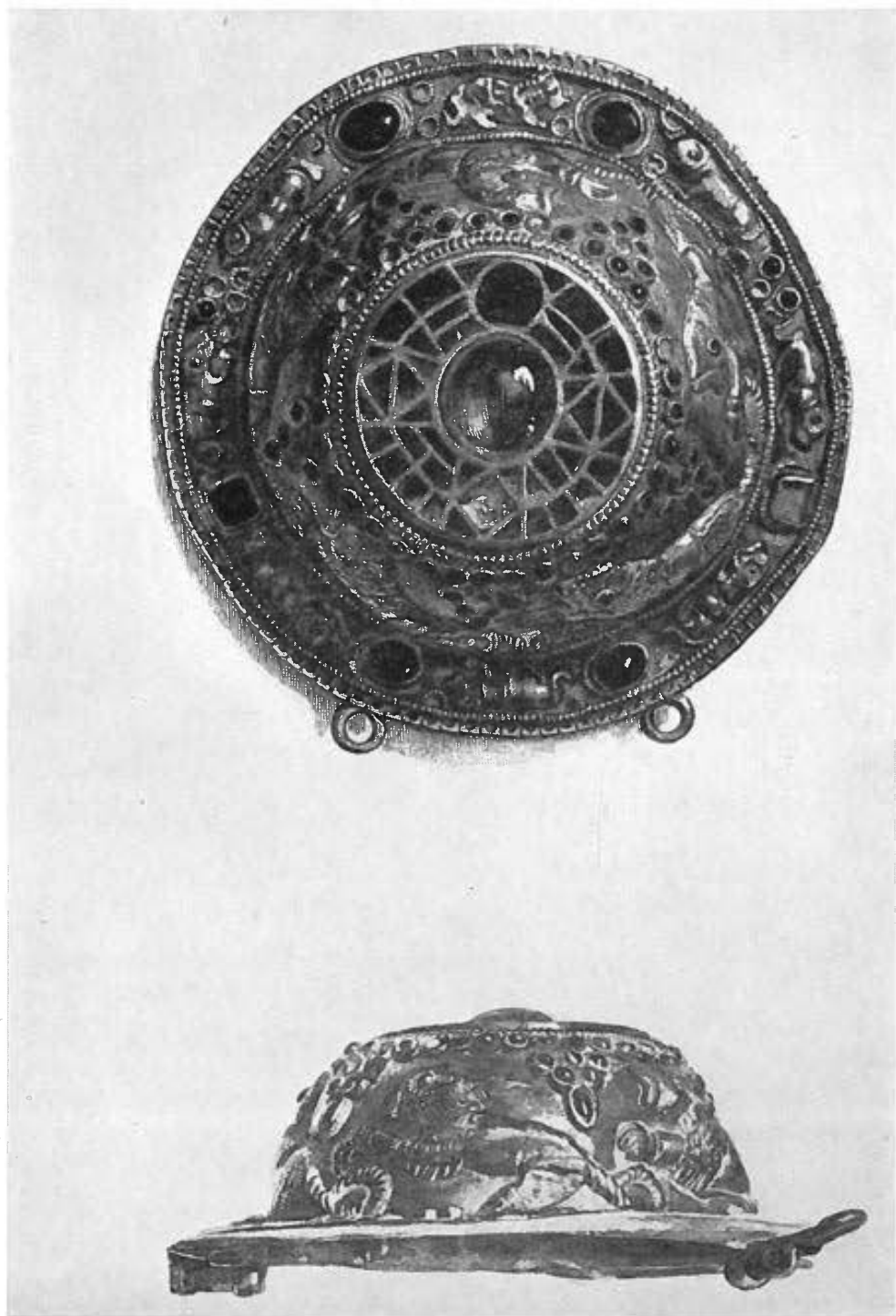


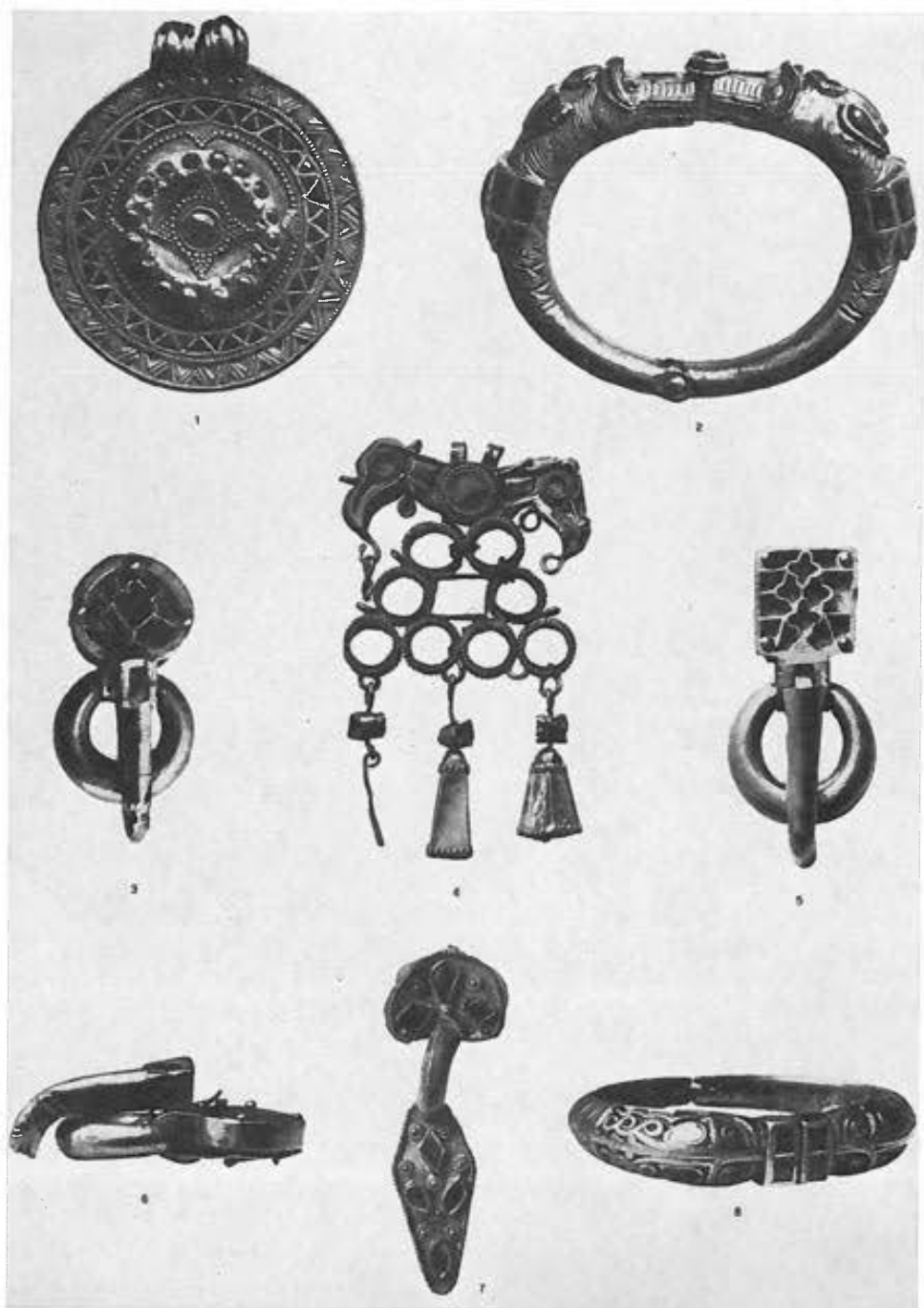


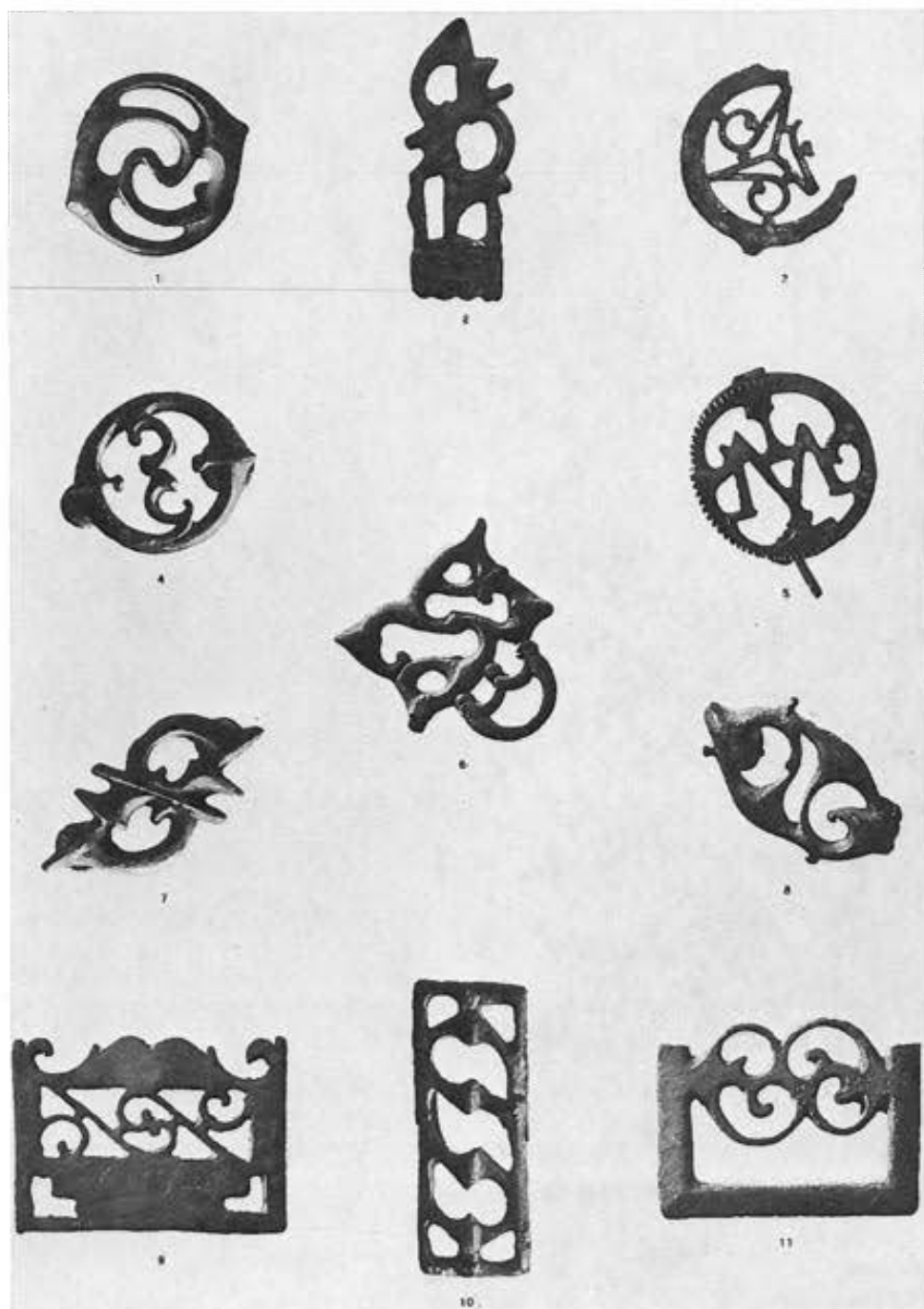


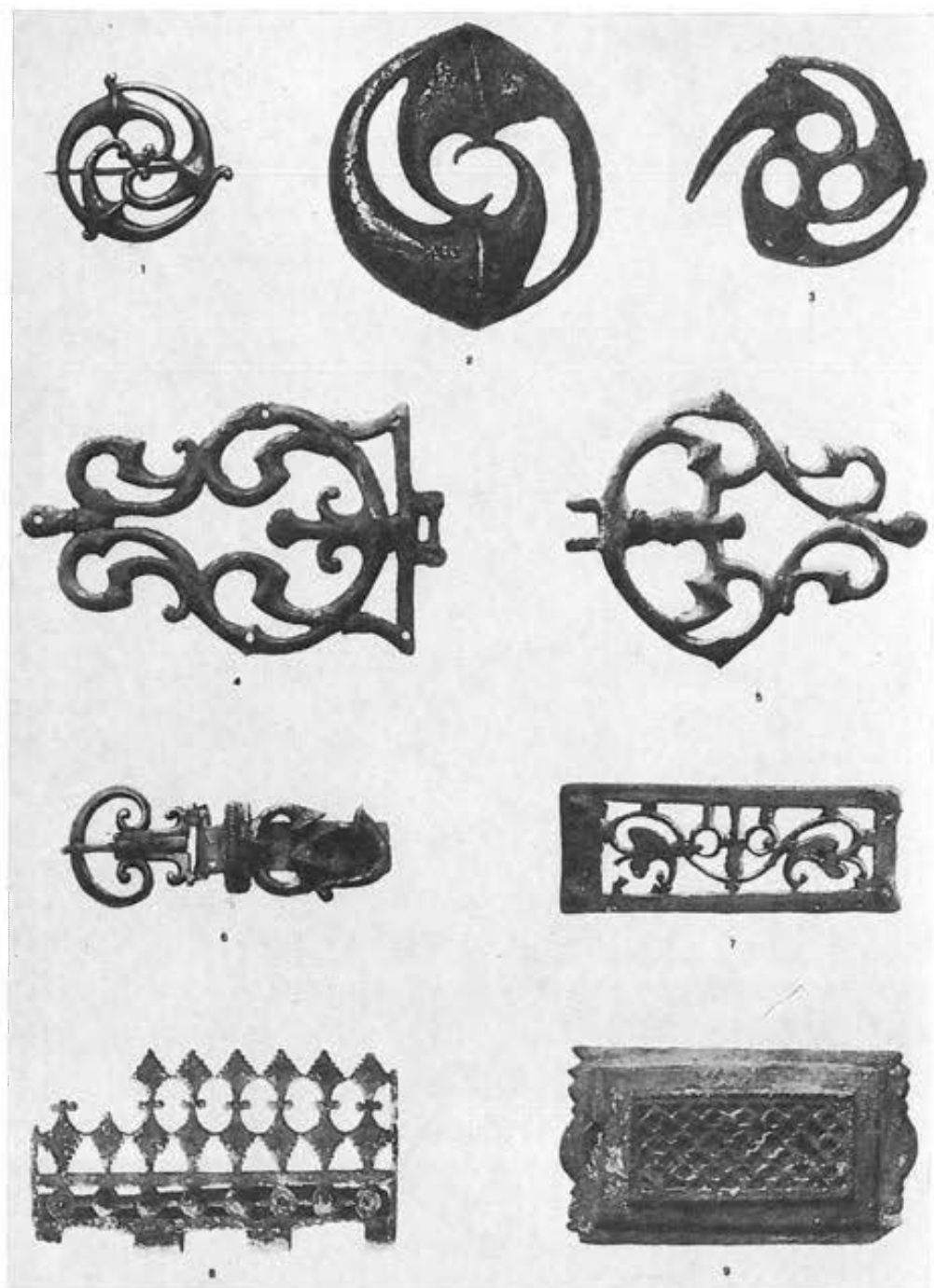














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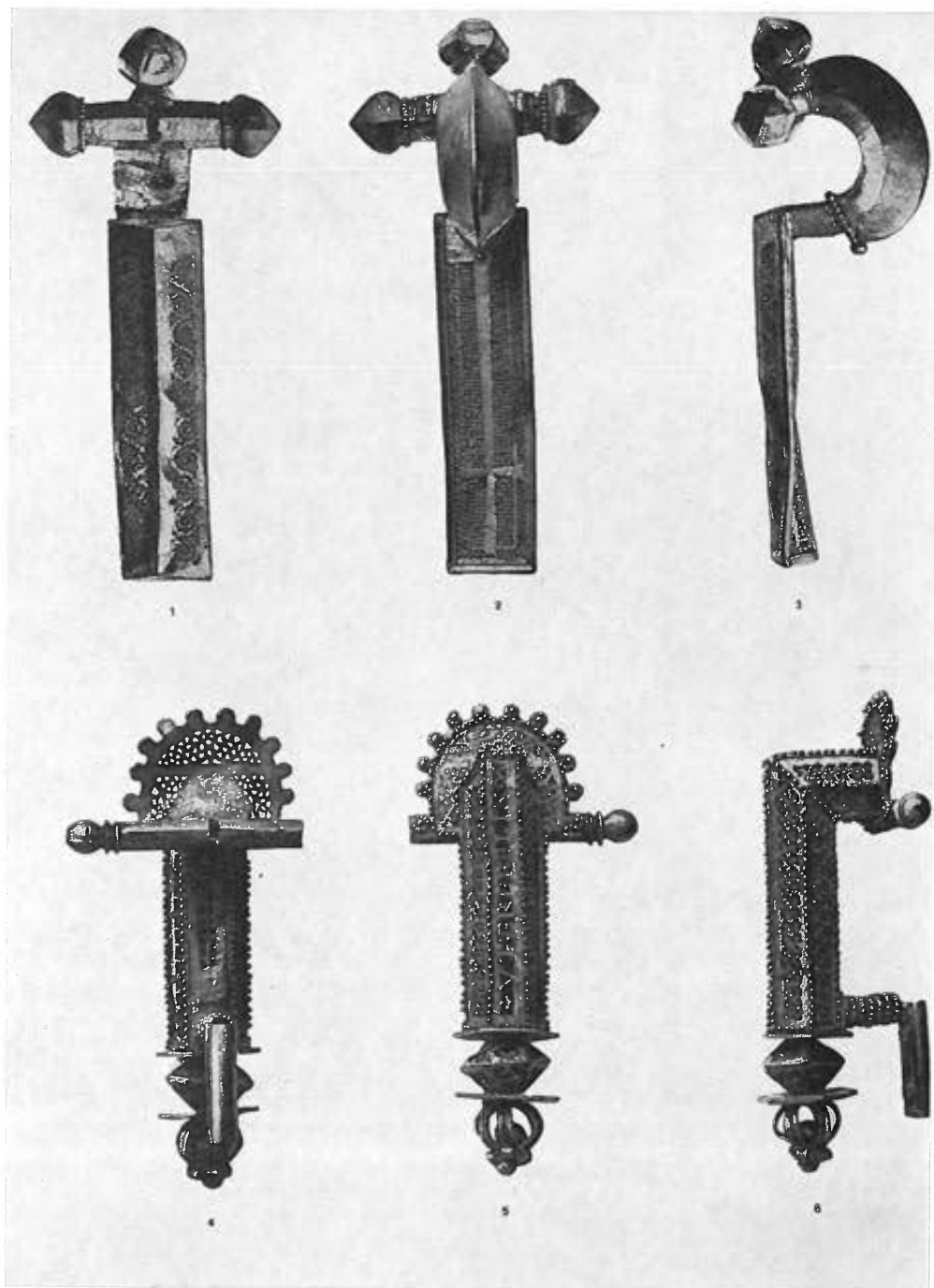
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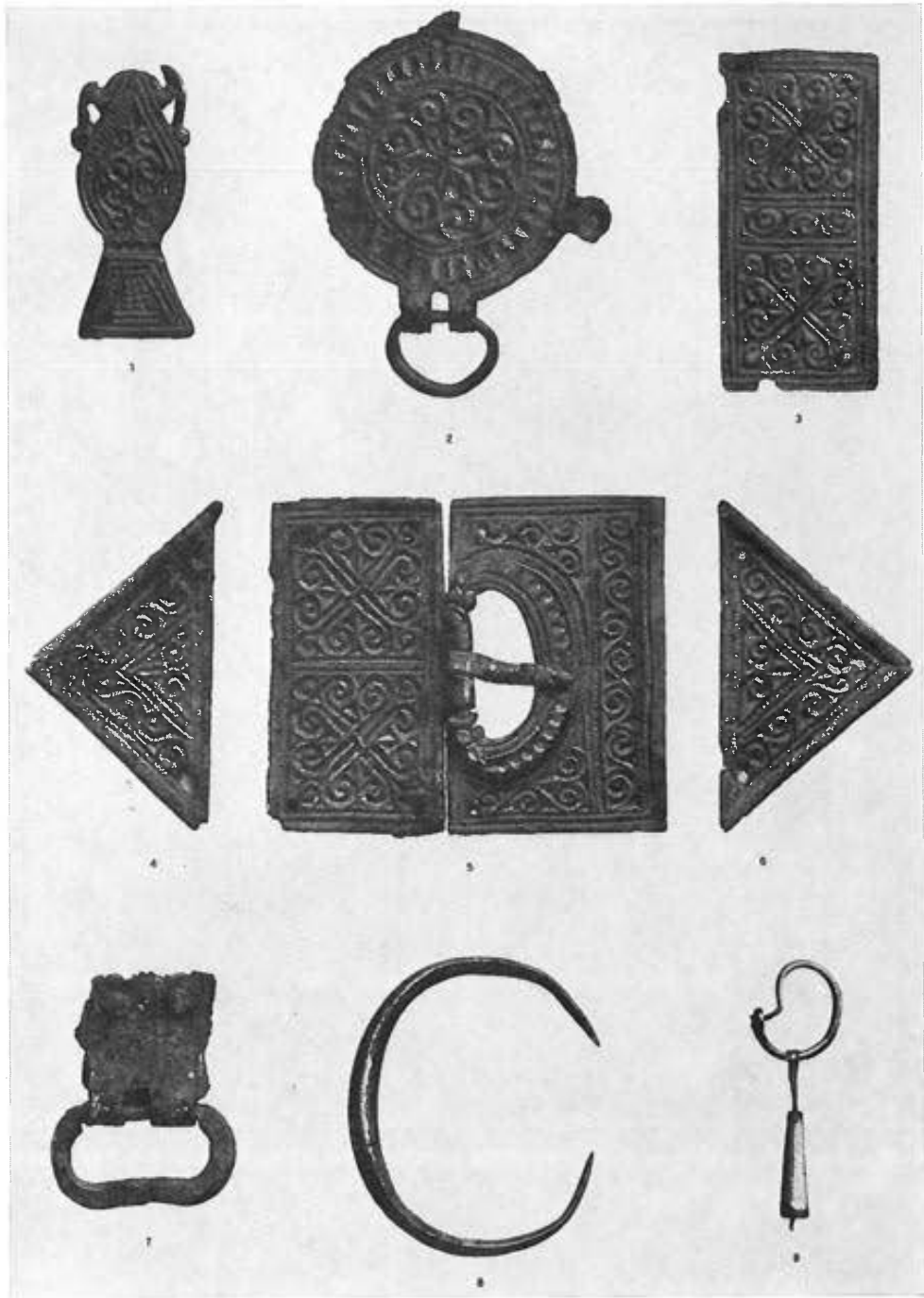


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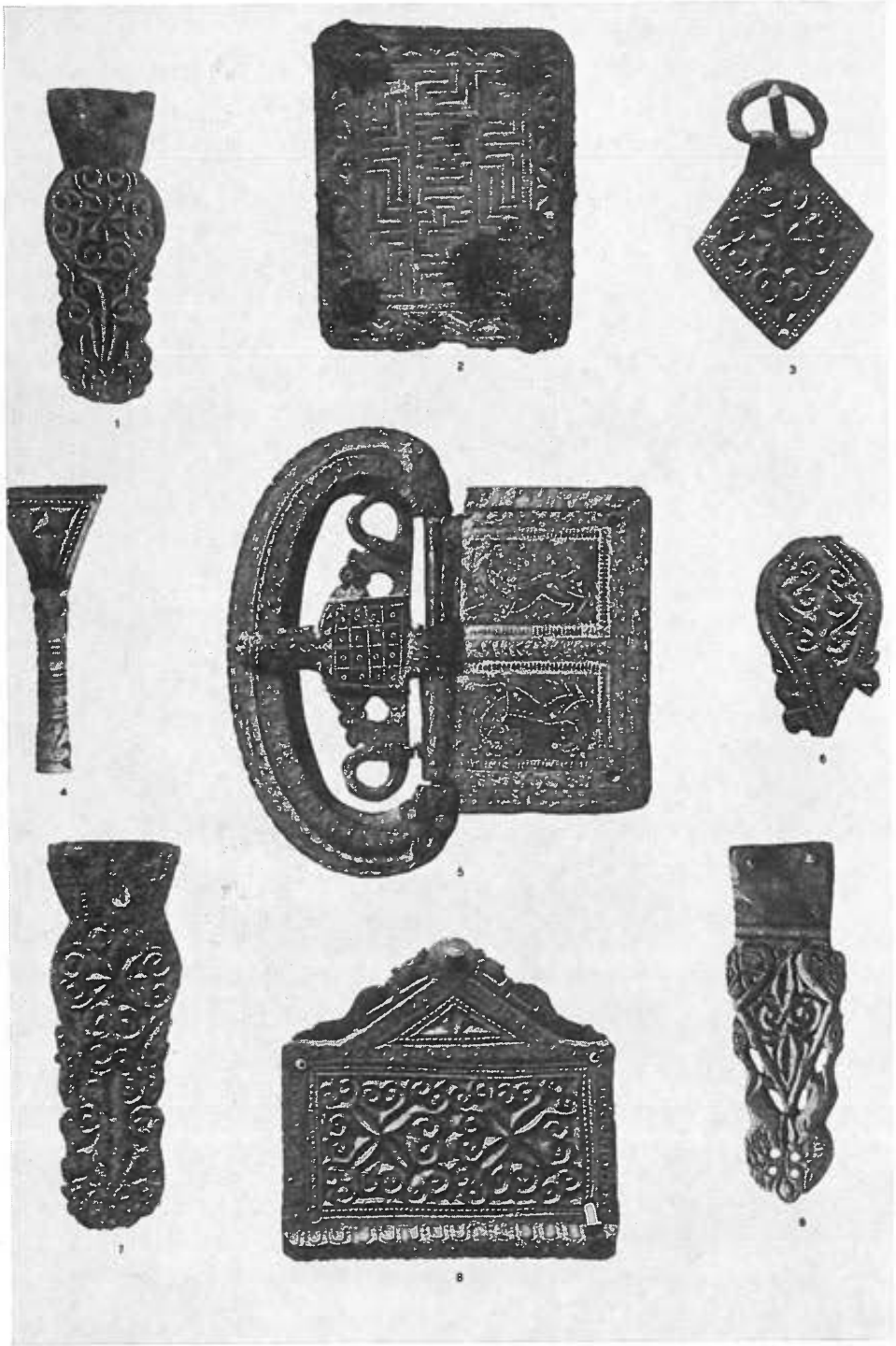


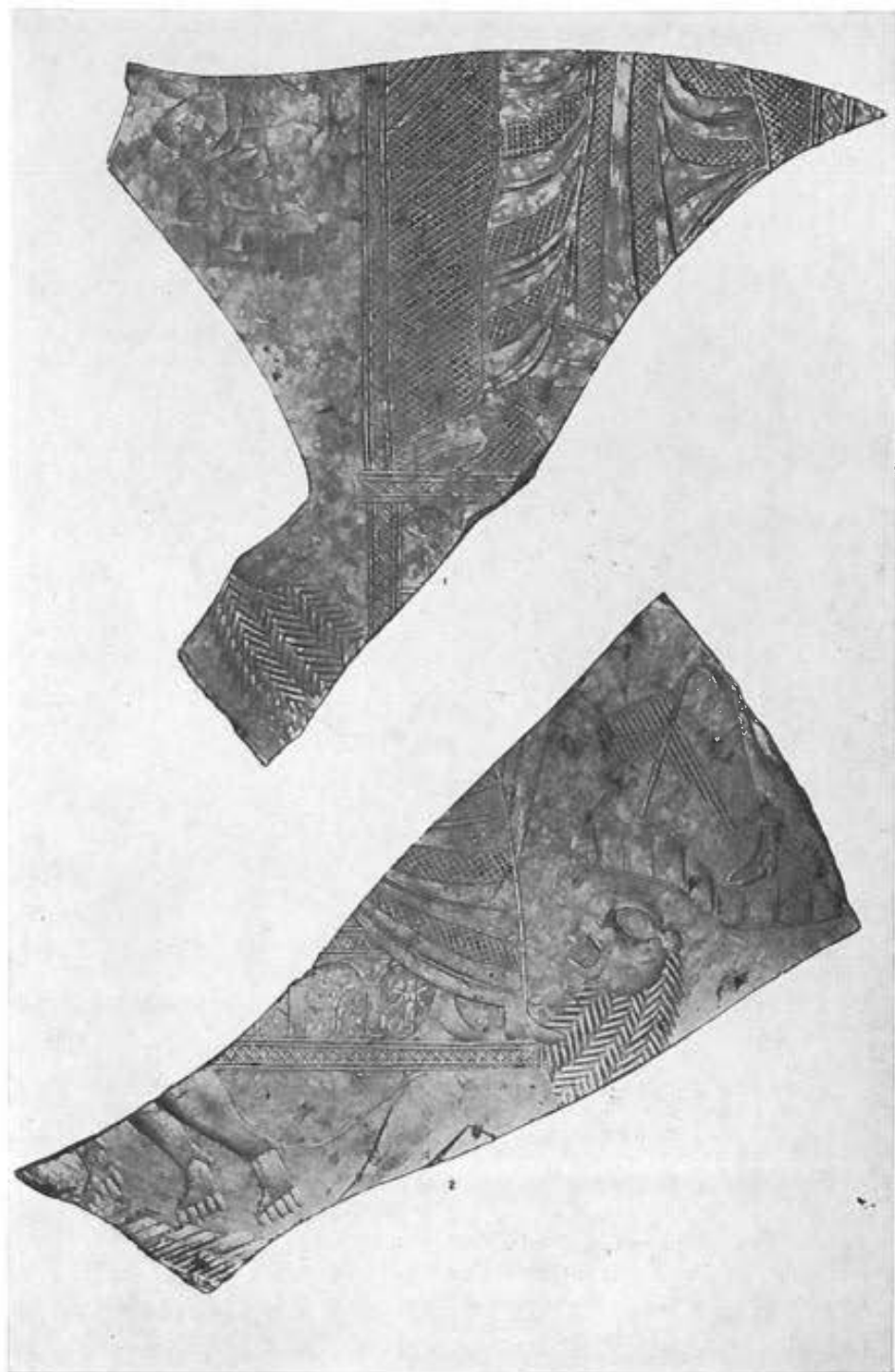












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